Telling Fashionable Tales:

The Form and Function of the Non-Fiction British Fashion Film

Jo Stephenson-Thompson

Queen Mary, University of London

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Statement of Originality

I, Jo Stephenson-Thompson, confirm that the research included within this thesis is my own work or that where it has been carried out in collaboration with, or supported by others, that this is duly acknowledged below and my contribution indicated. Previously published material is also acknowledged below.

I attest that I have exercised reasonable care to ensure that the work is original, and does not to the best of my knowledge break any UK law, infringe any third party's copyright or other Intellectual Property Right, or contain any confidential material.

I accept that the College has the right to use plagiarism detection software to check the electronic version of this thesis.

I confirm that this thesis has not been previously submitted for the award of a degree by this or any other university.

Signature: J. Stephenson-Thompson

Date: 20.11.2016

Details of publications (published in my maiden name):

Jo Stephenson, 'Britain's Brand Story in the Fashion Films of the Central Office of Information (COI)', *Catwalk: the Journal of Fashion, Beauty and Style,* 2, 2, (2013), 63-84

———, '"Miniskirts Make Money": Post-War British Fashion Promotion in Films by the COI', in *Trending Now: New Developments in Fashion Studies* (Oxford: Inter-Disciplinary Press, 2013), pp. 167-80, eBook

———, 'The Regal Catwalk - Royal Weddings and the Media Promotion of British Fashion', in *The British Monarchy on Screen*, ed. by Mandy Merck (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2016), pp. 243-263

Abstract

This thesis examines the promotion of the British fashion industry in the underexplored genre of non-fiction British fashion film. Whilst critical attention has been paid to the role of fashion within fiction film, and costume within historical drama, the significance of fashion in non-fiction, state-sponsored British film has passed largely without exploration. The threshold of fact and fiction is the site of investigation in this analysis of film and media materials, that draw on fairy tale narratives of transformation to produce fashion as the 'integration of the two worlds of reality and imagination' (Bettelheim, 1975).

The main focus of my analysis is a body of texts ranging from the forties to the present day. The corpus of study consists of films produced by British Pathé and the Central Office of Information (COI), film, televisual, and DVD outputs of royal weddings, and the BBC's live television broadcast of the 2012 Olympic Games. Fashion has a reputation for facilitating change and performing makeovers, and the texts studied here present three levels of transformation, powered by the magical fiction of fairy tales, the transformative potential of capitalism, and the renewing capabilities of the fashion industry. These texts demonstrate the way fashion stories are used to negotiate key historical junctures in British identity, finding in the structure of the fairy tale a way to articulate an economy of renewal that can be harnessed to a national, ideological state agenda aimed at women. This thesis argues that national events are commandeered as platforms for officially sponsored tales of Britain's heritage, which testify to the importance of fashion to the British economy and its role in political strategy.

Contents

List of Illustrations

Figure 7: Miss Design, *Designing Women* (COI, 1948), viewed on *The COI Collection Volume Two: Design for Today* (BFI, 2010). p. 237.

Figure 8: Peacock, *Designing Women* (COI, 1948), viewed on *The COI Collection Volume Two: Design for Today* (BFI, 2010). p. 239.

Figure 9: Electric Fire, *Designing Women* (COI, 1948), viewed on *The COI Collection Volume Two: Design for Today* (BFI, 2010). p. 239.

Figure 10: **'**V for Victory', *Sixty Years of Fashion* (COI, 1960), viewed on *The COI Collection Volume Two: Design for Today* (BFI, 2010). p. 254.

Figure 11: Flags, *Sixty Years of Fashion* (COI, 1960), viewed on *The COI Collection Volume Two: Design for Today* (BFI, 2010). p. 257.

Figure 12: Lady Jane's of Carnaby St, *Miniskirts Make Money* (COI, 1968), viewed on *The COI Collection Volume Two: Design for Today* (BFI, 2010). p. 260.

Figure 13: 'I Want to Expose Myself', *Miniskirts Make Money* (COI, 1968), viewed on *The COI Collection Volume Two: Design for Today* (BFI, 2010). p. 261.

Figure 14: The Pacemakers, *The Pacemakers: Biba* (COI, 1970) viewed on *The COI Collection Volume Two: Design for Today* (BFI, 2010). p. 265.

Figure 15: Dancing on the Bus, *24 Horas: Men's Fashions* (COI, 1973), viewed on *The COI Collection Volume Two: Design for Today* (BFI, 2010). p. 267.

Figure 16: Twiggy, *This Week in Britain 791: The Mary Quant Show* (COI, 1974), viewed on *The COI Collection Volume Two: Design for Today* (BFI, 2010). p. 269.

Figure 17: West End Punx, *Insight: Zandra Rhodes* (COI, 1981), viewed on *The COI Collection Volume Two: Design for Today* (BFI, 2010). p. 271.

Figure 18: Iris Shot, *Princess Mary to Marry an English Nobleman* (British Pathé, 1921), viewed on *British Royal Weddings of the 20th Century* (British Pathé; Cherry Red Films and Strike Force Entertainment, 2011). p. 297.

Figure 19: Contraption Covered in Mirrors, *The Royal Wedding* (British Pathé, 1934), viewed on *British Royal Weddings of the 20th Century* (British Pathé; Cherry Red Films and Strike Force Entertainment, 2011). p. 300.

Figure 20: A Smile and a Nod, *The Royal Wedding* (British Pathé, 1935), viewed on *British Royal Weddings of the 20th Century* (British Pathé; Cherry Red Films and Strike Force Entertainment, 2011). p. 301.

Figure 21: Inside the Abbey, *The Princess Weds* (British Pathé, 1947), viewed on *British Royal Weddings of the 20th Century* (British Pathé; Cherry Red Films and Strike Force Entertainment, 2011). p. 306.

Figure 22: Down Lambeth Way, *May Wedding* (British Pathé, 1960), viewed on *British Royal Weddings of the 20th Century* (British Pathé; Cherry Red Films and Strike Force Entertainment, 2011). p. 317.

Figure 23: The Fairy Tale Princess, *The Wedding of Prince Charles and Lady Diana Spencer 29 July 1981 St Paul's Cathedral* (British Pathé, 1981), viewed on *British Royal Weddings of the 20th Century* (British Pathé; Cherry Red Films and Strike Force Entertainment, 2011). p. 320.

Figure 24: A National Fashion Moment, viewed on *The Royal Wedding William and Catherine* (Formative Productions, 2011). p. 325.

Figure 25: The Royal Princesses, viewed on *The Royal Wedding William and Catherine* (Formative Productions, 2011). p. 328.

Figure 26: Isambard Kingdom Brunel, *London Olympic Games Opening Ceremony 2012*, dir. by Danny Boyle (BBC, 2012), viewed on *London 2012 Olympic Games* (BBC, 2012). p. 353.

Figure 27: Second to the Right, *London Olympic Games Opening Ceremony 2012*, dir. by Danny Boyle (BBC, 2012), viewed on *London 2012 Olympic Games* (BBC, 2012). p. 364.

Figure 28: David Bowie, *London Olympic Games Closing Ceremony 2012*, dir. by Kim Gavin (BBC, 2012), viewed on *London 2012 Olympic Games* (BBC, 2012). p. 371.

Figure 29: Union Jack, *London Olympic Games Closing Ceremony 2012*, dir. by Kim Gavin (BBC, 2012), viewed on *London 2012 Olympic Games* (BBC, 2012). p. 373.

Acknowledgements

I would first like to thank my supervisors, Professor Janet Harbord, and Dr. Lucy Bolton, for their continuous support, advice, and enthusiasm for this project. Their academic rigour has challenged me to question and clarify my thoughts on an ongoing basis, to the absolute benefit of the thesis. I would like to thank them for the time and thought they have given to my work, and for their encouragement, which has been invaluable to the writing up process.

In addition, I would like to thank the Arts and Humanities Research Council for funding this research, and for making it possible. The Queen Mary Film Studies Department has also provided a welcome home, supporting opportunities for me to share my work on a range of platforms. I would like to make special mention to Professor Annette Kuhn for assisting supervision in the first part of this PhD, and to fellow PhD candidates Hollie Price, Adrian Garvey, Nick Jones, and Maren Thom for sharing the process with me, and for passing on wisdom gleaned from their own experiences. Thank you also to the BFI Special Collections, the Mass Observation archive, and the Imperial War Museum archive, for allowing me access to their collections.

I am indebted to my friends and family (they know who they are), for their sustained excitement, interest, and belief. I am incredibly grateful for all their helpful comments, and most of all, for their positivity and understanding. Finally, thank you to Luke Thompson, for taking on the journey with me, and for being there every step of the way.

Introduction

In this thesis I interrogate the notion that state-funded screen media perpetuates fairy tale ideologies of womanhood through fashion narratives, and that these are designed to serve the needs of a national agenda at points of national crisis during the past century. Structured through analysis of four key case studies, I examine a selection of non-fiction film and television materials that merit consideration as tools of state-sponsored ideological practice. Engaging with writing on fashion film and heritage cinema, this thesis calls for a widening of scholarly approaches to fashion, film, and heritage, to include material usually categorised as information media. To this end, my concern in this research is to challenge the generic distinction between fiction and non-fiction classifications of fashion narratives on screen and their distinct treatment in academic terms. In the process of tracing this fashion narrative across genre I have followed the course of this story across media, from film, to DVD, and into the realm of live television, where some of the most potent mixes of fact and fairy tale fiction can, in recent years in particular, be seen to continue the work of earlier state-sponsored cinema.

Identifying an ideological address at the heart of the women's magazine industry, Laurel Forster writes, 'Any media form that purports to guide its target audience to a better version of themselves, through direct and intimate communication styles, is a media form with a political agenda'.[1] This pedagogic address characterising women's magazines, I argue, is evident in British film in

[1] Laurel Forster, *Magazine Movements: Women's Culture, Feminisms and Media Form* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2015), p. 1.

the first half of the twentieth-century where a state perpetuated narrative of aspirational fashion transformation on screen encourages women to make themselves over in a national image. Corresponding with Forster's critique of the 'adherence to ideals of beauty, a slavishness to fashion, [and] the establishment of constraining and conflicted modes of female behaviour' in women's magazine culture, [2] this analysis explores the complex and at times contradictory expectations imposed on women's lives through ideological constructions of femininity played out repeatedly across media. Forster describes magazines as media forms that 'contrive to appeal to women whilst also serving women's secondary status', raising the question of how such an appeal is made.[3] This thesis works diagnostically to understand how communication has been staged at a number of key historical junctures in order to captivate and manipulate a female audience. Challenging a dismissal of fashion in mainstream cultural discourse as a form of frivolous women's entertainment, this thesis will argue conversely that these films can be read as normalising resources operating in the public sphere, designed to influence women's behaviour whilst attempting to define their role in society through a fashion focused narrative structured around the alluring qualities of the fairy tale.

The use of what might be called a fairy tale apparatus in the construction of these ideological narratives is a considered, deliberate, and highly political choice. Donald Haase describes fairy tales as texts that 'demonstrate the sociocultural myths and mechanisms that oppress women'. [4] Inhabiting a

[2] Ibid., p. 2.
[3] Ibid., p. 7.
[4] Donald Haase, *Fairy Tales and Feminism: New Approaches* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2004), p. 3.

domestic environment and searching tirelessly for a heterosexual prince who can offer them entry into the dreamlike institution of marriage, fairy tale heroines are often cast as poster girls for a patriarchal system. The significance of these oppressive mechanisms can be read in the fairy tale's propensity for creating an aspirational world that readers (or viewers) wish to emulate in their own lives. As Haase acknowledges, feminine attributes celebrated in fairy tales have the potential to 'imprint' and 'reinforce' gender codes for their readers, creating 'repositories of the dreams, hopes, and fantasies of generations of girls'.[5] Marcia K. Lieberman acknowledges the beauty contest as a driving force of the fairy tale, with its 'focus on beauty as a girl's most valuable asset'.[6] As she writes, 'Beautiful girls are never ignored: they may be oppressed at first by wicked figures, as the jealous Queen persecutes Snow White, but ultimately they are chosen for reward'.[7] Often, this is the reward of being chosen by a male lead, to be his future wife. Lieberman writes, 'Marriage is associated with getting rich: it will be seen that the reward based in fairy and folk tales is overwhelmingly mercenary'.[8] The commercial advantage of beauty promoted throughout the fairy tale canon as a way to win a rich and handsome prince is harnessed by the capitalist imperative in the texts studied in this thesis. As I will demonstrate, a large proportion of these texts serve a dual purpose: to support the notion that the institution of marriage represents a form of financial security achieved through physical perfection, *and* to promote the improved performance of the national

[5] Ibid.
[6] Marcia K. Lieberman, '"Some Day My Prince Will Come": Female Acculturation Through the Fairy Tale', in Jack Zipes *Don't Bet on the Prince: Contemporary Feminist Fairy Tales in North America and England* (New York; London: Routledge, 2012) [first published in *College English* 34 (1972)], pp. 187-200, (p. 188).
[7] Ibid., p.188.
[8] Ibid., p. 189.

economy achieved through a didactic address to women intended to dictate their engagement in the fashion system.

Identifying a relationship between children's fairy tales and adult literature, Karen E. Rowe describes women's magazines as fairy tales for adult women, which 'pass on homogenized redactions of romantic conventions', and 'preserve moral strictures from fairy tales'. [9] Acknowledging that fairy tale narratives can be mobilised for women as they can for children, Rowe writes,

> Just how potently folklore contributes to cultural stability may be measured by the pressure exerted upon women to emulate fairy tale prototypes […] In short, fairy tales are not just entertaining fantasies, but powerful transmitters of romantic myths which encourage women to internalize only aspirations deemed appropriate to our "real" sexual functions within a patriarchy.[10]

Fairy tales cross many different forms of media and communication platforms, from an oral tradition to children's picture books, poetry, novels, music, magazines, film, and television. It is an intertextual, interdisciplinary form, which allows films to reference books, and television broadcasts to reference magazines. Across these various textual forms and across historical contexts is a consistency, as Haase writes, of fairy tales being 'intentionally manipulated to serve in the process of socialization and constructing gender'. [11] Whilst analysis in this thesis will focus on a specific collection of film and television materials, it is important to acknowledge that they form part of a wider social context in which pressure is 'exerted upon women to emulate fairy tale prototypes'. [12]

---

[9] Karen E. Rowe, 'Feminism and Fairy Tales', in Jack Zipes, *Don't Bet on the Prince* [first published in *Women's Studies*, 6 (1979)], pp. 209-226 (p. 210).
[10] Ibid., p. 211.
[11] Haase, p. 26.
[12] Rowe, pp. 210-211.

There is a tension here, which lies on the threshold between information and fairy tale, fact and fiction, myth and reality. Real women are held up in narratives against fantasy figures, impossibly judged against 'unrealizable romantic myths'.[13] This threshold is typically the border between the real woman and the fictional (fairy tale) text that she watches, yet in this thesis, the threshold is evident within the films and television programmes themselves, where real women are attempting to enact the fairy tale in actuality. My focus in this thesis is then the unlikely location of the fairy tale in a collection of informational screen media: state-supported texts that can be seen to shape, disseminate, and legitimate such 'fantastic' mythology.

The manifestation of the mythology is both outward facing as it changes across time and according to circumstance, and inward facing or self-referential, as a mythology acquiring an accumulative cast of female figures, from wartime housewives and fashion conscious teenagers, to royal brides, and cosmopolitan citizens. The British woman is sold as an archetypal figure of British history, a nostalgic symbol of what makes Britain 'Great'. As becomes clear, there is a particularly potent ideology presented in contemporary television broadcasting, which continues to define an image of national femininity based on a blend of characters from Britain's past. At certain times the relationship between two historical junctures is made explicit. In media narratives that constitute Great Britain in the years following the 2008 'Great Recession',[14] for example, there is direct reference to the period of national austerity following the Second World

[13] Haase, p. 26.
[14] Allister Heath, 'Seven Years On, We are Still Living in the Shadow of the Great Recession', *The Telegraph*, http://www.telegraph.co.uk/finance/economics/11364137/Seven-years-on-we-are-all-still-living-in-the-shadow-of-the-Great-Recession.html [accessed: 23.02.2015].

War through a resurgence of language and images from that era. The economic implications of the recent financial crash have been increasingly referred to in a range of contemporary newspaper articles and advertisements within the lexicon of 'austerity Britain', a nation in economic crisis and forced frugality that, according to the media, re-conjure images of wartime rationing. In a *Guardian* newspaper article published in May 2016, Aditya Chakrabortty cites 'austerity' as 'the word that will define this [then current] government'.[15] Resonances between national events in the two periods have also added to this sense of the post-war past mirrored in today, with the London Olympics of 1948 and 2012, the Queen's Coronation of 1952 and the Diamond Jubilee of 2012. There have also been the weddings and births of key heirs to the throne, with Princess Elizabeth's marriage to Philip Mountbatten in 1947 and the birth of Prince Charles in 1948, and Prince William's marriage to Kate Middleton in 2011, with the birth of Prince George in 2013. In this series of events following a period of national, economic instability, the past makes sense of the present, as Patrick Wright has argued.[16] The commonalities of the two historical moments, as I argue in Chapter 6, tie the two periods together using corresponding language, imagery, and themes, generating a cultural imaginary spread across a range of locations and cultural forms, from museum exhibitions, to newspaper articles, biographies, documentaries, advertisements, and news commentaries.

---

[15] Aditya Chakrabortty, 'Austerity is Far More Than Just Cuts. It's About Privatising Everything We Own', *The Guardian* (2016), <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/may/24/austerity-cuts-privatising-george-osborne-britain-assets> [accessed: 22.10.2016].

[16] Patrick Wright, *On Living in an Old Country* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2009) [first published in 1985].

Alan Sinfield discusses this type of storytelling by official institutions as a form of cultural production (linking the economy with creative output),[17] whereby 'societies reproduce themselves culturally as well as materially', to reinforce ideologies through the 'circulation of stories of how the world goes'.[18] He writes,

> It is through […] stories, or representations, that we develop understandings of the world and how to live in it. The contest between rival stories produces our notions of reality, and hence our beliefs about what we can and cannot do. That is why governments seek to control what is written and said, especially when rendered insecure by war or some other difficulty.[19]

Sinfield posits the power of stories to permeate a range of narrative mediums, from fiction, and drama, to 'current affairs, sport, party politics, science, religion, the arts, [advertisements,] and those specified as education for children'.[20] Through the subtle art of storytelling across fictional and informational channels, these familiar tales become so ingrained across the breadth of popular culture that they 'appear to become common sense', to 'go without saying'.[21] Through repetition, these stories naturalise ideological interpretations of the present that structure the social order, and become accepted as truth.[22]

Robert Hewison reflects critically on this perpetual reproduction of cultural stories, as the indication of a country obsessed with its past.[23] Writing of

---

[17] Alan Sinfield, *Literature, Politics, and Culture in Postwar Britain* (California: University of California Press, 1989), p. 153.
[18] Ibid., p. 2.
[19] Ibid., p. 24.
[20] Ibid.
[21] Ibid., pp. 24-25.
[22] Ibid., p. 25.
[23] Robert Hewison, *The Heritage Industry: Britain in a Climate of Decline* (London: Methuen, 1987), p. 9.

the relationship between historical narratives and consumption, Hewison defines a notion of 'the heritage industry' as an economic structure based on nostalgic tales of national history. According to Hewison, this industry is 'expected more and more to replace the real industry upon which […] [Britain's] economy depends', obscuring historical accuracy by creating a 'screen between ourselves and our true past'.[24] He describes the culturally produced stories of official institutions as fantasies, created to offer a hypnotic version of the past, that, through endless repetition, risk limiting 'all [future] capacity for creative change'.[25] This hypnotic version of the past is to be found in the texts studied in this thesis in which we can see an overarching narrative trajectory at work, telling stories of British fashion in an attempt to commandeer and hold on to nostalgic elements of Britain's past identity, whilst simultaneously selling these same elements as visions of Britain's future. According to Sinfield, 'It is hard to challenge [these] prevailing stories', because of their monopolising tendency to drive out alternative narratives.[26] However, as he argues, the perpetuation and reproduction of the same stories does not testify to their truth. Sinfield writes, 'the propagation of an ideology doesn't indicate what people were doing and thinking; if anything, insistent ideological work witnesses to uncertainty and contradiction,' in times of conflict or instability, such as a war, or financial crises.[27] The intersection between reality and fiction forms an inherent part of this discussion.

[24] Ibid., pp. 9-10.
[25] Ibid., p. 10.
[26] Sinfield, p. 25.
[27] Ibid., p. 205.

Speaking particularly of the post-war period in Britain, Sinfield writes of the relationship between high-brow culture and 'key motifs in the organization of consumption'.[28] According to Sinfield, in post-war state-supported narratives, 'literature and the arts were made to embody the spiritual and human values that consumer capitalism and "mass" culture seemed to slight and, at the same time, were deployed as indicators for educational success and social mobility'.[29] The pedagogic role of information media during this era, and its ability to enhance the merits of consumption is evident in media texts that shift their focus with each decade. In the economic uncertainty of the forties, the increasing nationalisation of consumer industries and the experience of rationing necessarily politicised tales of consumption, which encouraged people (particularly women) to spend patriotically. In wartime, this required a frugal approach to spending. In the post-war period, stories adapted to encourage conspicuous consumption aligned with a growing turn to the leisure industries, as part of Britain's economic reconstruction. In both wartime and post-war media, stories about women, fashion, and shopping are presented as growing areas of national concern.

There is then a 'substance of political communication' in these texts about fashion, a feature that challenges assumptions surrounding the distinction between fashion and politics, politics and entertainment. [30] As Carpini and Williams argue, political communication infiltrates a large portion of our media, from women's magazines to radio programmes about cooking: 'entertainment'

[28] Ibid., p. 177.
[29] Ibid., p. 2.
[30] Michael X. Delli Carpini and Bruce A. Williams, '"Fictional" and "Non-Fictional" Television Celebrates Earth Day: Or, Politics is Comedy Plus Pretense', *Cultural Studies*, 1,8 (1994), 74-98 (p. 75).

media can be seen both to reflect, and influence, events occurring in the real world.[31] According to Carpini and Williams, 'there is a growing awareness that the use of certain narrative devices (borrowed from literature) shape the way we tell any "story" and so inevitably involves the creation of a "fiction"'.[32] In a culture in which non-fiction media forms use the 'form and substance of "fiction"' – staging events, using graphics and movie clips',[33] to construct narratives, it is important to acknowledge the notion that 'news events are [also] communicated as "stories"',[34] a vital consideration when looked at in relation to the case studies in this thesis. Stuart Hall, Ian Connell, and Lidia Curti have cautioned, the state does not 'conspire' to manipulate subjects, yet they have also been keen to illuminate how the various institutions that create media work to produce consensual accounts of events.[35]

When Robert Allen writes, 'there is no "unbiased" manner by which television […] can show us the world', we might ask what is specific to television?[36] Television is, according to Peter Dahlgren, a 'pervasive' media form which 'virtually merges with everyday life' to the extent that 'even the day-to-day processes of politics are adapted to the logic of the media'.[37] Dahlgren describes television as a 'sociocultural experience' inhabiting a 'central position in our semiotic environment', which links 'the everyday world to the larger

---

[31] Ibid., p. 77.
[32] Ibid., p. 76.
[33] Ibid., p. 77.
[34] Ibid., p. 76.
[35] Stuart Hall, Ian Connell, and Lidia Curti, 'The "Unity" of Current Affairs Television', in *Popular Television and Film*, ed. by Tony Bennett, Susan Boyd-Bowman, Colin Mercer and Janet Woollacott (Kent: BFI Publishing, 1981), pp. 88-117 (p. 88).
[36] Robert C. Allen, 'Introduction: Talking about Television', in *Channels of Discourse: Television and Contemporary Criticism*, ed. by Robert C. Allen (London: Routledge, 1987), pp. 1-16 (p. 5).
[37] Peter Dahlgren, *Television and the Public Sphere*: *Citizenship, Democracy and the Media* (London: SAGE Publications, 1995), p. 45.

symbolic orders of social and political life'.[38] Television acts as a vehicle for a mediated form of cultural, political, and social communication: not only a 'window on the world',[39] but, 'one of a number of complex sign systems […] that constructs representations of the world on the basis of complex sets of conventions – conventions whose operations are hidden by their transparency'.[40] It is my task in the pages that follow to trace the narrative conventions of a fashion narrative tied to a national agenda as it shifts from the medium of cinema to television in order to manufacture a state-approved cultural vision.

Public service broadcasting, and specifically television, has a strong historical relationship with state policy and agenda.[41] However, during the course of this research I have discovered connecting relationships not only between public service television broadcasting and state-supported informational film material, but also between television production and commercially funded film. In addition to questioning the boundaries between 'fiction' and 'non-fiction' media, my argument will be that the distinction drawn between what we consider to be 'public service' and 'commercial' production, and film and television, is unstable. In the following chapters my account will focus on the employment of institutionally grounded ideological codes used intertextually, and inter-medially, in justification of an argument that television has taken over the political role previously performed by state-supported 'information' films. Demonstrated through close textual analysis, this thesis evaluates the unexpected placing of

[38] Ibid., p. 41.
[39] Lynn Spigel, *Welcome to the Dreamhouse: Popular Media and Postwar Suburbs* (London; Durham: Duke University Press, 2001), p. 2.
[40] Allen, p. 2.
[41] Dahlgren.

political ideology in fashion-focused texts presented in cinemas, and later on television, in the re-staging of a political fairy tale.

The constructed use of fictional devices to tell 'factual' tales can be seen in the contrived nature of live television broadcasting. Lynn Spigel and Michale Curtin write, 'television has always been promised to be even bigger than life, and its penchant for producing an illusion of liveness has convinced many that its pictures are "real" and capable of capturing events, even revolutionary events, as they unfold'.[42] In their coverage, live television broadcasts addressed to a national, or international audience are set up as forms of factual, information media which, according to Robert Allen, 'give the illusion of immediate access to reality and truth'.[43] As a visual medium premised on a belief that 'seeing is believing', television has a power to naturalise its coverage through employment of invisible manipulations. [44] What is more, an intertextual relationship at play between factual programming and entertaining content, where themes and outlooks are shared, transmits a sense that fact and fiction move seamlessly on from each other. Allen talks about 'the inevitable circuit of reference set up [in the flow] between texts', whereby a 'commercial is followed by a network promotion for a future program, which is followed by a "teaser" for the episode of a series about to begin, which is followed by a segment of that episode, interrupted by another commercial'.[45] Looking at the 'multiply embedded' nature of journalism and entertainment in popular culture, Dahlgren identifies a political economy implicit within television programming, in which, at its most extreme,

[42] Lynn Spigel and Michale Curtin, 'Introduction', in *The Revolution Wasn't Televised: Sixties Television and Social Conflict* (New York; London: Routledge, 1997), pp. 1-20 (p. 1).
[43] Allen, p. 5.
[44] Carpini and Williams, p. 77.
[45] Allen, p. 3.

all content (including news media) can be approached as 'filler' between the adverts.[46] In this argument, 'The audience becomes the product'.[47] This concept is usefully put in relation to the texts studied in this thesis, whereby news broadcasting material actively forms part of the advertising campaign itself; that is, news becomes advertising. According to Carpini and Williams, the characteristics of television and its merging of media forms is 'fundamental to the ways in which it influences politics'.[48] Identifying the vulnerability of public service television to state ideology, political pressure, and commercial logic, this thesis supports the argument that the act of upholding distinctions between fiction and non-fiction television 'obscures television's [true] impact' as a social, and cultural institution.[49]

There are also issues of gender implicit in the distinction between fiction and non-fiction media and their respective appeal. As Carpini and Williams write, 'it seems logical or natural that "non-fiction" television addresses public concerns and therefore has "serious" political implications while "fictional" television is simply a form of entertainment with very few "serious" and or political implications'.[50] According to Charlotte Brunsdon, fictional entertainment dramas and consumer programmes rather than serious factual documentary content have been constructed for and marketed to a female audience.[51] This thesis challenges the gendered assumptions surrounding

[46] Dahlgren, p. 30.
[47] Ibid., p. 29.
[48] Carpini and Williams, p. 77.
[49] Ibid., p. 77.
[50] Ibid., p. 76.
[51] Charlotte Brunsdon, 'Lifestyling Britain: The 8-9 Slot on British Television', in *Television after TV: Essays on a Medium in Transition*, ed. by Lynn Spigel and Jan Olsson (Durham; London: Duke University Press, 2004), pp. 75-92 (p. 77).

television consumption, by examining news media aimed specifically at women, albeit news media which uses the substance, form, and function of the fairy tale to engage its audience. Situated mostly in the home (and occasionally in public waiting areas) television in its appeal to women has also played a role in defining an image of the archetypal housewife. Laurel Forster argues that the magazine style of programming characterising much television is a format derived from radio programmes 'giving advice to women about subjects deemed to be primarily of women's concern: housekeeping and childrearing'. It is, she argues 'a format choice that now lies behind much daytime television material'.[52] The use of women's media to offer lifestyle advice can be seen clearly in the selection of information films examined in Chapters 3 and 4, which, though designed for cinema consumption, work alongside Spigel's view of post-war television as providing a 'machine for living'. [53] Fitting into the lifestyle and improvement format of television culture in which 'British broadcasting has always had a strong impulse to improve its audience',[54] these information texts give advice to a female population on how best to perform their duties as women. Charlotte Brunsdon recognises this relationship between television and information films, describing the improvement impulse of television programming as a 'hobbyist' form of content 'recognized in the histories of public service traditions'. [55] As the texts selected for analysis in this thesis move forward chronologically, we see a gradual shift away from the home and towards the detail of urban life. However, as becomes clear, the didactic imperative of

[52] Forster, p. 13.
[53] Spigel, *Welcome to the Dreamhouse*, p. 1.
[54] Brunsdon, 'Lifestyling Britain', p. 75.
[55] Ibid., p. 75.

these texts remains firmly pedagogic, to teach their female audience how best to behave as national representatives in the midst of transformative events.

Research into the non-fiction British fashion film opens with Chapter 1, 'A Review of the Field: Defining a New Genre'. This chapter sets out four key fields of academic scholarship that form the theoretical framework for this thesis, namely fairy tales, fashion film, heritage, and cosmopolitanism. Elucidating the relationship between the four fields, this chapter traces an interdisciplinary consideration of utopian ideals such as transformation, fantasy, desire, and romance, identified as elements of ideological concern owing to their role in heritage storytelling, commercial intercourse, and state propaganda. The transformative potential of fashion and its promise of a happy ending are here discussed amidst critical reflections on the institutional commodification of the national past, the political construction of official histories, patriarchy, neoliberalism, and globalisation, as part of elitist discourses disseminated through popular culture.

Chapter 2, 'Storytelling Through the Archives', extends this discussion on the regulation of popular culture by reflecting on the archival nature of the texts in question, and their institutionalisation within a system of official historical storytelling. As media held by powerful organisations, these texts are identified as products of considered national selection representative of institutional ideologies, accessed through a controlled process of regulated archival research. This chapter also provides a justification for the corpus of study, which considers information films in relation to selected television

broadcasts as particular media forms exploited to facilitate the dissemination of prescriptive ideological codes. This discussion leads in to the main body of the thesis, structured in four analytical case studies.

Chapter 3, 'British Pathé from "Service" to "Civvy Street"' establishes the ideological, pedagogic function of fashion in information films of the early to mid twentieth-century, operating with a didactic imperative to prescribe modes of behaviour upon a national female audience in a period of crisis. Identifying filmic wish fulfillment fantasies targeted at working women to draw on aspirations of social mobility, fame, and fortune, this chapter also establishes the relationship between women, fashion, and the home in texts targeted towards British housewives during and post-World War Two. This analysis foregrounds a national promotion of the 'beauty on duty', exploring the making over of clothes, and later the self, as narrative devices in the national makeover of Britain as a wartime, and later, post-war nation.

Chapter 4, 'Miniskirts and Money in "Swinging London": The Central Office of Information (COI)', analyses the transformation motif of the post-war era, and its shift to design with fashion as a key element. Calling attention to an increasing connection between fashion and the urban environment, this chapter considers the presentation of London as a city of possibility, targeted towards a growing teenage target audience increasingly mobilised in cultural discourse through narratives of consumption. Challenging the authenticity of 'Swinging London' inhabited by care-free youth, this chapter presents the framing of female

liberation in the image of the ‘designed woman’, a government endorsed character constructed to represent state ideology.

Chapter 5, ‘“Royal London” and the Fantasy of Bridal Transformation: Film, Television, and DVD Coverage of Royal Weddings’ considers the role of the British royal family in state-sponsored tales of the British fashion industry on screen. Approaching a breadth of information media texts across film, television, and DVD, this chapter traces a relationship between monarchy and fairy tale, addressing a tradition of intertextual myth making in royal narratives that draws attention to the edited events of the newsreel, the constructed nature of live television, and the manipulated quality of DVD edits. Rather than films made during a periodical event (such as the Second World War or the ‘Swinging Sixties’), this chapter is about the capturing on screen of special, one-off events or occasions that are explicitly tied to a particular moment in London. Leading on from the relationship established between fashion and the city in Chapter 4, this chapter presents the concurrent transformation of ‘Royal London’ as a facilitating place for specifically royal, and bridal, transformation. Spanning texts made between 1921 and 2011, this chapter connects post-war filmmaking with contemporary television broadcasts and retrospective DVD highlights, examining stories of royal dress that facilitate dialogues among media narratives past, present, and future.

Chapter 6, ‘Imaginations of “Olympic London”’, brings the discussion in this thesis firmly into the contemporary period, exploring cosmopolitan imaginings of Britain’s future through stories of its heritage in live television

coverage of the 2012 London Olympic Games Opening and Closing Ceremonies. Analysing a story of 'Olympic London' that is constantly suspended between nostalgia and progress, this chapter encompasses and evaluates the intertextual generic narrative running between each of the chapters in this thesis, which circulates around the transformation of Britain from parochial village, into global, cosmopolitan fashion capital. Addressing the constant replication of cultural narratives perpetuated in national media forms since the mid-twentieth century, this chapter confronts the threat of a dystopian future, in which culture is condemned to endless repetition, driven by institutional narratives that constantly return to the past like the continuous cycle of the fashion system. Discussing the commodification of historical narratives in British storytelling, this chapter observes the idealisation of Britain's fashion and textile manufacturing industries, which have long since declined, as a nostalgic touchstone of national heritage, exploited as an emblem of contemporary British culture. As part of Britain's heritage narrative, this chapter addresses the presentation of women at various moments in the last century as characters of nostalgic national celebration, and questions whether they are destined to spend an eternity dressed as mannequins in national ideology. At the same time, a parallel gender narrative is addressed that runs throughout the Olympic coverage and merges with presented aspirations of cosmopolitanism: a focus on togetherness and global citizenship that encourages a sense of increased gender mobility, alongside celebrations of increased mobility between national geographical and political borders. Presenting a significant moderation in state-supported transformation narratives, this chapter observes a shift in address from 'everywoman', to 'everyman', 'mobile woman', to 'mobile citizen'.

Between the information films examined in Chapters 3 and 4, and the television broadcasting coverage investigated in Chapters 5 and 6, this thesis examines the ideological functioning of state-supported media texts which push the promotion of British fashion in an attempt to shape ideologies surrounding consumption, to influence consumer behavior, and to disseminate notions of national identity. Consistently, the presentation of British fashion is associated with tales of cultural events, particularly with victory from war, the end of rationing, and with royal occasions manifested as symbols of hope and rebirth for a new nation. However, just as literature and the arts were championed in post-war Britain as icons of a new nation, so, significantly, are they championed in contemporary media narratives of cultural events. In today's royal weddings and Olympic ceremonies we can read a celebration of the British fashion industry that attempts to move Britain away from austerity once again, into a more stable economic future. As this thesis demonstrates, these cultural fashion stories work to inspire their (predominantly female) viewers towards certain consumer behaviours, by drawing on the popular storytelling tradition of fairy tales, which perpetuate ideologies based on transition and change, providing hope for a happy ending. They also borrow from the repetition and simplification of fairy tale narratives, overstating 'key motifs in the organization of consumption'.[56] According to Sinfield, cultural stories 'make sense for us – of us – because we have been and are in them […] they are *lived*'.[57] In their association with fairy tales, these stories connect with a social desire described by Jack Zipes, 'to make a fairy tale out of our [own] lives'.[58]

[56] Sinfield., p. 177.
[57] Ibid., p. 24. Emphasis as in original.
[58] Jack Zipes, *Why Fairy Tales Stick: The Evolution and Relevance of a Genre* (New York: Routledge, 2006), p. xi.

1

A Review of the Field: Defining a New Genre

According to Jack Zipes in *Fairy Tales and the Art of Subversion*, the fairy tale's moral education as a literary tradition is predicated on 'institutionalized symbolic discourse on the civilizing process'.[1] In a social history of the literary fairy tale's emergence in France in the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries, Zipes charts the appropriation of the oral folktale, and its conversion into literary discourse aimed at 'civilizing' children of aristocratic French families according to accepted social codes and conventions.[2] It is my aim to demonstrate how the non-fiction fashion film has come to perform a similarly pedagogic role in twentieth-century and early twenty-first century Britain. The ideological agenda of these films may not be that of a civilising mission, which Zipes speaks of in France in earlier centuries, but it is an agenda that mobilises an institutionalised symbolic discourse of collective national values manifest primarily through gender. In this sense, the texts adhere to a simplified social and moral code of the fairy tale, and their simplification as well as their traditional framework is part of their appeal at times of crisis. This chapter first of all outlines the potency of the fairy tale format before moving to a discussion of fashion in film (including scholarship on costume and dress), followed by heritage and the appeal of the past, and finally the complexity of the present branding of place-as-past in cosmopolitanism. These are diverse fields of scholarship yet, I argue, each is a

[1] Jack Zipes, *Fairy Tales and the Art of Subversion* (London; New York: Routledge, 2007) [first published in 1983], p. 3.
[2] Ibid.

facet necessary to an understanding of how fashion is perpetually used to recall historical moments and resituate social hierarchy.

Fairy Tales

According to Rick Altman, there are similarities between film genre and fairy tales (or folklore literature) when he describes taking a ritual approach to genre, that addresses the 'narrative patterns of generic texts'.[3] Such a ritual approach to genre, he argues, identifies narrative patterns that emerge from and are resonant with the audience's own lived experiences. Genre, according to Altman, is a medium through which audiences make sense of society, and a similar argument, made by Bruno Bettelheim, is that fairy tales 'answer the eternal questions: What is the world really like? How am I to live my life in it? How can I truly be myself?' [4] In *The Uses of Enchantment* (1975) Bettelheim describes fairy tales as tools, derived from 'old wives tale[s]' passed down the generations orally as a form of warning or advice to younger listeners, enabling them to work out how to live in the world. [5] For Bettelheim, we find meaning for our lives incrementally, through a lengthy step-by-step process. Whilst adults obtain an accumulative understanding from life experiences, children require additional help in learning to understand themselves and their place in the world. [6] Bettelheim argues that by stimulating the child's imagination, fairy tales 'give full recognition to his difficulties, while at the same time suggesting solutions to

[3] Rick Altman, *Film/Genre* (London: British Film Institute, 1999), p. 24.
[4] Bruno Bettelheim, *The Uses of Enchantment: The Meaning and Importance of Fairytales* (London: Penguin, 1991) [first published in 1975], p. 45.
[5] Marina Warner, 'The Old Wives' Tale', [first published in 1994] in *The Classic Fairy Tales,* ed. by Maria Tatar (New York; London: W. W. Norton & Company, 1999), pp. 309-17. Bettelheim often uses gender-specific language that corresponds with patriarchal structures. The child in his writing is naturally assumed to be a boy.
[6] Bettelheim, p. 3.

the problems which perturb him […] promoting the confidence in himself and in his future'.[7] Fairy tales facilitate and provide a structure for the child's imagination, allowing the tales to influence their fantasies, their development, and eventually, their life choices. They do this by providing a 'moral education'.[8] For Bettelheim, this education 'subtly, and by implication only, conveys to him the advantages of moral behaviour'.[9] Bettelheim contrasts this aspect of the fairy tale with the 'moralistic' approach of fables, which 'demand and threaten' the child into doing what they are told. [10] Fairy tales are here the more subtle and suggestive development tool.

Bettelheim argues that whilst fairy tales do not claim to give a realistic depiction of modern society, they teach children about the inner problems of human beings.[11] Instead of giving the child a list of prescriptive rules and regulations telling them what they should do, the fairy tale guides the child to find their own solutions, encouraging them to think about how the situations depicted in the fairy tale are reflected in their own life.[12] To be effective in such a guiding process, fairy tales attempt to present visions of ordinary people. Bettelheim talks about the focus on 'everyman', and the use of unnamed archetypal characters such as 'mother' or 'father'. [13] In this way, the fairy tale is 'facilitating projections', for the child to impose the image of their own mother or father onto these archetypes.[14] Rather simply, these projections encourage the

[7] Ibid., p. 5.
[8] Ibid.
[9] Ibid.
[10] Ibid., p. 27.
[11] Ibid., p. 5.
[12] Ibid., p. 25.
[13] Ibid., p. 40.
[14] Ibid., p. 41.

reader to identify with the main character, allowing them to believe that what happens in the narrative could also happen to them.

Bettelheim also notes how the timelessness of fairy tales allows the reader to adapt and relate the tales to their own life, manifest in the terms that situate the story very broadly. He states,

> "Once upon a time," "In a certain country," "A thousand years ago, or longer," "At a time when animals still talked," "Once in an old castle in the midst of a large and dense forest" – such beginnings suggest that what follows does not pertain to the here and now that we know. This deliberate vagueness in the beginning of fairy tales symbolizes that we are leaving the concrete world of ordinary reality.[15]

Fairy tales open with a statement of timelessness and a generic sense of place. When we are reading fairy tales written a hundred years ago, their promises of wish fulfillment make an appeal to us across time. Possibility is not tied to the moment of the tale's writing, but moreover, lives alongside its reading. Fairy tales are also often set in unspecified ordinary places, to give the impression that 'they could happen to you or me or the person next door when out on a walk in the woods'.[16] In this sense, the fairy tale is, for Bettelheim, at odds with the notion of myth, in which the events that occur are 'absolutely unique', so 'grandiose and awe-inspiring' that they 'could not have happened to any other person, or in any other setting'.[17]

However, a more critical approach to both fairy tales and genre identifies ideological elements within both cultural paradigms. In contrast to a ritual

[15] Ibid., p. 62.
[16] Ibid., p. 37.
[17] Ibid.

approach to genre which accrues historically, Altman also discusses an ideological approach, which imagines 'narrative texts as the vehicle for a government's address to its citizens/subjects or an industry's appeal to its clients', and is developed within a specific time and place.[18] This approach presents genre as a device evolved for the purpose of imposing opinion, targeted at, rather than emerging from, its audience. This reading of genre as a more manipulative model of culture may also be applied to fairy tales. In a recent introduction to a collection of classic tales, Maria Tatar warns readers to be consciously critical of the fairy tale's potential to shape 'our values, moral codes and aspirations', implicated in the 'complex, yet not impenetrable, symbolic codes' implicit within cultural stories. [19] This is a relevant and potent warning when considered in relation to the texts studied in this thesis. As demonstrated through case study analysis, fairy tale narratives are perpetuated through media materials classed as non-fiction, as if fact.

In a contemporary analysis of the form in *Why Fairy Tales Stick*, Jack Zipes agrees with Bettelheim's view that fairy tales allow readers to 'envision possible solutions to their problems',[20] yet he also speaks about the complexities of the fairy tale's moral education. Zipes charts the appropriation of the oral folktale, and its conversion into literary discourse aimed at 'civilizing' children of aristocratic French families according to accepted social codes and conventions.[21] In contrast to the inclusive tradition of the oral folktales told by people of all social standings, the literary fairy tale was available only to children

[18] Altman, p. 27.
[19] Maria Tatar, 'Introduction', in *The Classic Fairy Tales,* ed. by Maria Tatar, pp. ix-xviii (p. xii).
[20] Zipes, *Why Fairy Tales Stick*, p. xii.
[21] Zipes, *Fairy Tales and the Art of Subversion*, p. 3.

of privileged backgrounds, who were able to read.[22] Zipes describes the literary tale as a codified practice,[23] and '*symbolic* act', that restructured the 'motifs, characters, themes, functions, and configurations' of oral tales to reinforce the social conventions of the ruling classes.[24]

As well as excluding children of lower social status, the institutionalisation of fairy tales in print acted as instructional ideology diverted into amusement.[25] Zipes describes the moral education of the literary fairy tale as being built on a foundation with a social agenda and political unconscious,[26] 'cultivated to assure that young people would be properly groomed for their social functions', and calling into question Bettelheim's assertion that fairy tales encourage children to discover their own solutions.[27] Zipes writes of the 'discreet inquiry and censorship' imposed on literary fairy tales in this period, to check that they were reinforcing 'the dominant social codes' at home and at school.[28] These dominant codes, he argues, were 'overtly patriarchal and politically conservative', serving the interests of social groups controlling 'cultural forces of production and reproduction'.[29] The patriarchal ideology of literary fairy tales is represented by the repeated theme of romantic love as the driving force for narrative. Bettelheim describes the permanent union between man and woman as the 'ultimate consolation of the fairy tale'.[30]

---

[22] Ibid., p. 8.
[23] Ibid., p. 3.
[24] Ibid., p. 6. Emphasis as in original.
[25] Ibid., p. 19.
[26] Ibid., p. 10.
[27] Ibid., p. 14.
[28] Ibid., p. 19.
[29] Zipes, *Why Fairy Tales Stick*, p. 2.
[30] Bettelheim, p. 146.

The shared characteristics and transferable functions within the fairy tale genre may be viewed as a form of intertextuality. Maria Tatar describes fairy tales as 'stories [that] circulate in multiple versions, reconfigured by each telling to form kaleidoscopic variations with distinctly different effects'.[31] Stories can be told and retold, adapted and revised. They can also contain references to other tales. Graham Allen explains, 'Works of literature […] are built from systems, codes and traditions established by previous works of literature'.[32] Reading a text 'plunges us into a network of textual relations',[33] in which every text has been informed and shaped by the texts preceding it. Allen describes reading as 'a process of reading between texts', in a culture of representation, of literature referencing literature, in which 'The text becomes the intertext'.[34] Bennett and Royle similarly discuss the process of intertextuality as a text 'woven out of words and phrases from elsewhere',[35] a practice that Linda Hutcheon outlined some twenty-five years ago as the '*politics* of representation', in her discussion of parody, as a form of ironic postmodern intertextuality.[36] She argues that, while the 'prevailing interpretation' of intertextuality presents a 'value-free, decorative, de-historicized quotation of past forms' in a continuum of texts, there is also 'ironic difference'.[37] According to Hutcheon, parody as a form of intertextuality, serves not as an empty pastiche of preceding forms, but as a conscious and pointed critique of existing texts, that is both 'deconstructively critical and

---

[31] Tatar,'Introduction', p. ix.
[32] Graham Allen, *Intertextuality* second edn. (Abingdon; Oxon; New York: Routledge, 2011) [first published in 2000], p. 1.
[33] Ibid.
[34] Ibid.
[35] Andrew Bennett and Nicholas Royle, *Introduction to Literature, Criticism and Theory* third edn. (Harlow: Pearson Education Limited, 2004) [first published in 1995], p. 82.
[36] Linda Hutcheon, *The Politics of Postmodernism* (London: Routledge, 1989), p. 94. Emphasis as in original.
[37] Ibid.

constructively creative',[38] a 'doubly coded' reference that both 'legitimizes and subverts' the texts it references.[39] This analytic deconstruction calls attention to the 'entire representational process,'[40] paradoxically foregrounding 'both the limits and the powers of representation'.[41]

Taking up Hutcheon's line of argument, Vanessa Joosen applies this concept of parody to her study of intertextuality in fairy tale retellings. She writes, 'Hutcheon has identified a paradox at the heart of parody, and that also applies to the fairy-tale retelling'.[42] Traditional fairy tales have been adapted into novels, verse, and children's picture books, she argues, and 'transformed in the form of parodies, updates, role reversals, sequels and prequels'.[43] Traditional tales exist alongside an increasing corpus of fairy tale retellings and fairy tale criticism, which both help to sustain interest in the classic literature.[44] In line with Hutcheon's notions of the contradictory nature of parody, Joosen argues that the fairy tale retelling is 'simultaneously negative and affirmative, […] rebellious and conservative', serving both to criticise and reinforce the classic text. [45]

Rather than focusing on the intertextual interaction between the traditional tales and their contemporary counterparts, Joosen's study explores the intertextual dialogue between fairy tale retellings and fairy tale criticism, paying

[38] Ibid., p. 98.
[39] Ibid., p. 101.
[40] Ibid., p. 95.
[41] Ibid., p. 98.
[42] Vanessa Joosen, *Critical and Creative Perspectives on Fairy Tales: An Intertextual Dialogue Between Fairy-Tale Scholarship and Postmodern Retellings* (Michigan: Wayne State University Press, 2011), p. 16.
[43] Ibid., p. 2.
[44] Ibid.
[45] Ibid., pp. 16-17.

particular attention to the way authors and critics make use of the same analytical ideas.[46] In this study, Joosen relates fairy tale retellings to groups of traditional tales, rather than attaching them to any one particular version. She justifies this choice in relation to the intertextual nature of the fairy tale genre, in which it is 'usually impossible to determine which pre-texts were the basis of a given retelling and which other references come into play in the production and reading process'.[47] She discusses the canonisation of the fairy tale genre, and analyses the way contemporary fairy tale retellings disturb the generic stability of traditional texts. From a corpus of four hundred literary retellings published in English, German and Dutch, Joosen extracts a list of differences from the classic tales.[48] She reports that, unlike the linear, omniscient, third person narration of traditional tales, adaptations are often told in the first person.[49] Joosen also observes variation in narrative setting, as the classic abstraction of time and place is frequently relocated to specific settings and historical eras.[50]

For my purposes, in analysing the negotiation between fairy tale adaptations and fairy tale criticism, Joosen importantly combines an analysis of fiction and non-fiction texts. From this interdisciplinary analysis emerge questions of definition. Setting out the traditional distinction between the two forms, Joosen presents the accepted opinion that, 'Whereas fiction offers imaginary stories, nonfictional texts present content that supposedly corresponds to factual reality'.[51] She then observes the complications involved in making

[46] Ibid., p. 17.
[47] Ibid., p. 10.
[48] Ibid., p. 7.
[49] Ibid., pp. 13-15.
[50] Ibid., p. 12.
[51] Ibid., p. 29.

these distinctions, stating, 'nonfiction texts present content that may contain invented elements, and fictional texts never take place in a completely invented universe but always rely on some factual data'.[52] In addition, fairy tale retellings and fairy tale criticism are both based on traditional, fictional tales, and each, according to Joosen, offers a form of external critique.

In Joosen's argument, the key difference between fiction and non-fiction texts lies in their reception. She opines, 'in nonfiction […] the invented parts are by convention clearly distinguished from the rest of the text. In fiction, by contrast, it is left to the readers to assess what they believe is imaginary and what not'.[53] In Joosen's account, the reader is responsible for judging whether the author of the tale intends for the content to be consistent with a factual reality, and whether the tale's 'narrative voice' is 'attached to or detached from its real author'.[54] The intertextual references between both of these forms of fairy tale analysis and criticism, respectively, complicate the separation of generic boundaries. Joosen's writing also critiques elements of Bettelheim's work. She criticises Bettelheim's notion that the fairy tale only has a therapeutic effect in its original form, dismissing the potential for retellings to have the same impact.[55] She also draws attention to Bettelheim's opposition to illustrated fairy tales. Bettelheim argues,

> [I]illustrated storybooks, so much preferred by both modern adults and children, do not serve the child's best needs. The illustrations are distracting rather than helpful. Studies of illustrated primers demonstrate that the pictures divert from the learning process rather than foster it,

[52] Ibid.
[53] Ibid.
[54] Ibid., p. 30.
[55] Ibid., p. 127.

> because the illustrations direct the child's imagination away from how he, on his own, would experience the story.[56]

Joosen opposes this argument writing that, far from restricting, the pictures in children's literature have been proved to help to stimulate the child's imagination.[57]

According to Jack Zipes, it is not only the symbols within the fairy tales that are replicated. Zipes talks about the fairy tale as a genre that 'become[s] contagious and spreads', in the way that is constantly replicated and repeated throughout numerous texts. [58] The familiarity of fairy tales becomes so incorporated into cultural consciousness that when we hear the expression 'once upon a time', we 'immediately and naturally think that we are about to hear a fairy tale'.[59] Zipes contends that the mass of socially produced retellings and reproductions of fairy tales in print have 'mythicized' the tales in cultural discourse, 'as natural stories, as second nature'.[60] Zipes does not only refer here to literature. As he argues, fairy tales 'continue to be generated this way through different forms of the mass media'.[61]

Walt Disney in particular has of course been influential in moving the transmission of fairy tales from the page to the screen. Zipes explains, 'from 1934 onward, about the time that he conceived his first feature-length fairy-tale film, Disney became the orchestrator of a corporate network that changed the

---

[56] Bettelheim, pp. 59-60.
[57] Joosen, p. 141.
[58] Zipes, *Why Fairy Tales Stick*, p. 94.
[59] Ibid., p. xi.
[60] Ibid., p. 1.
[61] Ibid.

function of the fairy-tale genre in America'.[62] According to Zipes, Disney's animations played a part in institutionalising the fairy tale genre by imposing images on to the literary tales.[63] In one sense, Zipes argues for the democratising force of the film animation, which 'returns the fairy tale to the majority of the people', after the shift to aristocratic exclusivity, brought about by print culture.[64] However, Zipes also acknowledges the continued exercise of power dominating the tales, in line with his argument that there are didactic conventions of the literary fairy tale. In his article 'Breaking the Disney Spell', Zipes accuses Disney of reasserting traditional, patriarchal values, and capitalising on 'American innocence and utopianism to reinforce the social and political status quo'.[65] Acknowledging the reinforced 'domestication of women',[66] and the depiction of female characters as 'helpless ornaments in need of protection,'[67] he highlights the one-dimensional character stereotypes that continue to permeate the animations. Zipes' account works partly alongside Bettelheim's argument against illustrated fairy tales, arguing that the standardisation of images in Disney's adaptations are 'geared toward nonreflective viewing', that restricts the imagination from conjuring its own vision. [68] As a result, he argues, when we think of fairy tales today, we are likely to conjure the images of Disney.[69]

In his study of the fairy tale as a postmodern intertext, Kevin Paul Smith writes that 'the history for popular fiction, from Shakespeare to *Shrek*, is

---

[62] Jack Zipes, 'Breaking the Disney Spell' [first published in 1995] in *The Classic Fairy Tales,* ed. by Maria Tatar, pp. 332 – 52 (p. 351).
[63] Ibid., p. 338.
[64] Ibid., p. 344.
[65] Ibid., p. 333.
[66] Ibid., p. 348.
[67] Ibid., p. 349.
[68] Ibid., p. 352.
[69] Ibid., pp. 232-33.

suffused with fairytales, those simple stories that function in the vernacular as a synonym for lies'.[70] As 'lies', fairy tales are here described as fictional stories. Like Zipes, Smith distinguishes between the oral, and literary fairy tale. He argues that the 'easy dissemination of mass produced fictions' in contemporary culture has rendered the traditional oral dissemination of fairy tales almost obsolete. The frequent transmission of fairy tale references in print and on film, mean that the fairy tales we are now most familiar with 'are more part of a literary tradition than an oral one'.[71] One could argue that this makes them more prone to manipulation, as stories more commonly circulated by corporations than by ordinary people. Smith disagrees with Bettelheim's argument for the timelessness of the fairy tale. Instead, he sees the fairy tale as a 'historically determined' text that reflects its given context, and 'speaks volumes about the society and historical time in which it was told'.[72] In this sense, different adaptations of the same tales and re-appropriations of the same genre can provide disparate meanings, each nuanced by their own social conditions. Smith writes that the sustained popularity and importance of the fairy tale as an intertextual genre throughout shifting social and cultural contexts lies in its simplicity. The rules of fairy tale are as 'easy to pick up' and as 'endlessly adaptable' as the rules of grammar, providing an 'easy way to translate experience into narrative'.[73] Providing a form of cultural record, fairy tales not only have the potential to teach us about ourselves, he argues, they can also teach us about the lives of others at a particular place, and moment in time.

---

[70] Kevin Paul Smith, *The Postmodern Fairytale: Folkloric Intertexts in Contemporary Fiction* (Hampshire: Palgrave MacMillan, 2007), p. 1.
[71] Ibid., p. 5.
[72] Ibid., p. 165.
[73] Ibid., pp. 166-67.

Traditionally regarded as 'Old Wives Tales', the fairy tale has often been dismissed as a whimsical 'trifle', a derogatory term connected with implications of 'fantasy, escapism, invention, [and] the unreliable consolations of romance'. [74] However, embedded in the language and culture of fairy tales is a didactic nature of warning and advice. Marina Warner discusses the origin of the word 'fairy' and its association with the goddess of destiny. Referring to the Romance languages, Warner writes of fairies as fate tellers, who, like the goddess, speak through stories to 'foretell events to come and give warnings'. [75] The fairy tale, we may conclude, is not at all straightforward. The sustained prominence given to these tales through their continued reference in contemporary culture and their persistence over time may provide familiarity and continuity. Yet Maria Tatar observes the dangers of dismissing their content. She writes, that whilst there may be 'voices disavowing the transformative influence of fairy tales and proclaiming them to be culturally insignificant', by suspending our 'critical faculties' when consuming these tales, we are also at risk of ignoring their influence as 'inviolable cultural icons'. [76]

Fashion in Film

If the significance of the fairy tale can be underestimated, the study of fashion in film has also traditionally been rendered a 'frivolous, feminine field', [77] a form of 'insignificant', escapist popular culture 'unworthy of critical or academic

[74] Marina Warner, 'The Old Wives' Tale', p. 313.
[75] Ibid., p. 309.
[76] Tatar, 'Introduction', p. xi.
[77] Sarah Street, *Costume and Cinema: Dress Codes in Popular Film* (London: Wallflower, 2001), p. 1.

attention'.[78] Hollywood costume in particular, has been negatively perceived as a form of 'commodity production' that encourages a 'fetishistic relationship between audience and image'.[79] However, in 2001 Sarah Street wrote of changing attitudes towards clothes and cinema. Increasingly recognised as a 'legitimate and fruitful subject area', Street outlines its potential to challenge debates about film form, mise-en-scène, intertextuality and audience behaviour, adding heightened significance to the role of the costume designer.[80] Since the eighties, there has developed a sub-field of film studies criticism focusing on the role of fashion and film in gendered, political, national, and economic constructions of identity.[81] I will here trace these developments in three areas of debate: the depiction of women and British national identity in feature films of the Second World War and post-war period, the role of fashion in Hollywood feature films, and emerging discussions on new definitions of fashion film that move away from feature film production to incorporate multiple media platforms. Before I move in to these discussions, I will first introduce the idea of the fashion show as a way in to understanding the development of a longstanding relationship between fashion and film emphasising spectacle and economy.

As Caroline Evans argues in her book *Mechanical Smile*, fashion is a multifaceted, interdisciplinary medium that needs to be understood as part of a wider context outside of its traditional association with material culture and

---

[78] Jackie Stacey, *Star Gazing: Hollywood Cinema and Female Spectatorship* (London; New York: Routledge, 1994), p. 90.
[79] Pam Cook, *Fashioning the Nation: Costume and Identity in British Cinema* (London: British Film Institute, 1996), p. 9.
[80] Street, *Costume and Cinema*, p. 1.
[81] Pamela Church Gibson and Stella Bruzzi ed. *Fashion Cultures: Theories, Explorations and Analysis*, (London; New York: Routledge, 2000); Djurda Bartlett, Shaun Cole, and Agnès Rocamora ed. *Fashion Media: Past and Present* (London; New York: Bloomsbury, 2013).

design history. The idea of the fashion show is a useful apparatus that brings together the key themes of this thesis. As Evans writes, 'the fashion show is a nodal point for the convergence of several different histories that are rarely written about together: those of business, international trade, consumption, women, work and fashion, as well as of cinema, revue theatre and visual art'.[82] Evans draws out these convergences in her analysis of the commercial and cultural relations between America and France in the international garment trade and wider cultural landscape of the early twentieth-century. As she writes, 'The history of the fashion show is part of women's history, of business history, of design history and even of intellectual history. It suggests a way to understand how these different histories are connected'.[83] Like the information film, the fashion show is traditionally classed as a non-narrative event. However, as this thesis shows, a narrative is created from the convergences between a range of national and gendered histories, with fashion at their centre as a paradoxical medium of both old and new, history and future, consistency and change.

A significant part of Evans' argument focuses on the gendered implications of the traditional fashion show. As she writes, contradictions in female identity are exposed in the figure of the live mannequin, as the early fashion model was called. As a canvas on which economic values became cultural, the female body became an icon of modernism, acquiring 'a value that was both economic and symbolic', and presenting a vision of modern womanhood that was at once both 'chilling' and 'alluring'.[84] As Evans writes,

[82] Caroline Evans, *The Mechanical Smile: Modernism and the First Fashion Shows in France and America, 1900-1929* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2013). P. 1.
[83] Ibid., p. 9.
[84] Ibid., p. 115.

the fashion show has often been viewed as a symbol of female emancipation, 'at a time when modernity became particularly associated with speed and acceleration – that sense of the pace and dynamism of modern life'.[85] The figure of the mannequin was hence ironically suspended between the conflicting image of a mute 'mobile clothes horse' who 'never spoke except to utter the name of a dress', [86] and the vision of an influential, professional modern woman earning an independent wage.[87] In this latter view of the mannequin as a progressive force leading the way for working women, the early fashion show can be seen as a screen through which to project a future image of female subjectivity. This is significant to the texts analysed in this thesis, which present images of national womanhood for female viewers to aspire towards.

In the form of the female mannequin, Evans argues for 'a concept of modernism that stretches beyond art and literature to urban sensibilities and even to commercial exchange'.[88] However, if, as Evans suggests, the female body becomes a modernist symbol of the fashion show as a commercial enterprise, this raises the question of whether the mannequin should be viewed as a subject or an object? Evans here questions the implications for women who are simultaneously (and paradoxically) viewed as 'commodities', 'tools of representation', and 'agents'.[89] As a model on display for the purpose of selling a garment, the mannequin is at once both visible and invisible, a spectacle, and an abstraction.[90] In this sense, the personal and the political are brought together in the dressed

[85] Ibid., p. 3.
[86] Ibid., p. 8.
[87] Ibid., p. 4.
[88] Ibid., p. 5.
[89] Ibid., p. 5.
[90] Ibid., p. 5.

female body, which acts as the intersecting site where subjectivity connects with social and economic reality.[91] In her book *Unmarked*, Peggy Phelan addresses the political implications of visibility as an indicator of power, ironically remarking, 'If representational visibility equals power, then almost-naked young white women should be running Western culture'.[92] In this statement, Phelan draws attention to the paradox at the heart of the mannequin's image: highly represented across a vast array of image media, the mannequin remains arguably devoid of any form of political power or voice. As an abstraction, her body is borrowed for the presentation of garments, which, ironically, could be seen to hold more political power than the person who wears them, as consumable items.

The uniformity of femininity is also referred to in Evans' work on abstraction, in the description of the mannequin's 'streamlined body', and identical styling. Presented in 'the chorus line formation of pre-war parades' with a 'look of the production line', Evans presents a vision of 'mechanical' women, 'technicians of the walk',[93] tied up in a performance of doubling and repetition. This image is heightened in reference to the early twentieth-century, with the growing industrial trend of mass production. In this sense, there was a didactic element to the role of the mannequin's performance, which was 'powerfully suggestive to their contemporaries'.[94] Models of modernism as well as of clothes, Evans describes the early fashion mannequin as 'a touchstone for concerns about femininity, nationhood, class, status and sexuality', examples for other women to aspire towards and follow. The fashion show is arguably born from a desire for

[91] Ibid., p. 9.
[92] Peggy Phelan, *Unmarked: The Politics of Performance* (London and New York: Routledge, 1993), p. 10.
[93] Evans, *The Mechanical Smile*, pp. 7, and 115.
[94] Ibid., p. 8.

'alterable and perfectible', taught, homogenised womanhood similar to the pedagogic motivation of the fashion film, discussed later in this chapter.[95] As Evans goes on to argue, this phenomenon has not yet been outdated; in the model's 'staging of selfhood as a pose', the mannequin's modernity is still relevant today.[96] With discussions surrounding the inauthenticity of the model's pose, the figure of the mannequin as an aspirational figure of womanhood is in many ways a fantasy, a character created at the intersection between reality and representation. As Evans writes, 'Reality itself is a constructed subject mediated by modern technologies' such as photography and film.[97] Evans here suggests that reality is stitched together in the editing practices of film and photography, just as gender is literally stitched together through fashion. Both fashion and film are described as mediums reliant on the practices of cutting and joining to make an image.

Judith Brown's writing on glamour as an influencing force on modernist aesthetics adds to Evans' discussion of the mannequin as a modernist icon. According to Brown, glamour's relationship with 'consumer desire, fantasy, sexuality, class and racial identity […] uniquely frames the pleasures that drive the art and culture of modernism', a visual projection of changing economic and political values.[98] Through its visibility in entertainment media and mass culture, Brown argues that 'glamour offers a way to aestheticize [or dress] politics', in a desirable, aspirational form.[99] However, as in Evan's analysis of early

[95] Ibid., p. 7.
[96] Ibid., p. 8.
[97] Ibid., p. 8.
[98] Judith Brown, *Glamour in Six Dimensions: Modernism and the Radiance of Form* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2009), p. 1.
[99] Ibid.,p. 12.

mannequins, Brown observes the fantastical element of glamour as a seductive abstraction, a cultural form based on ideas and representations rather than any form of physical reality.[100] It is, according to Brown, a concept destined towards dissatisfaction, deceptively presented as something attainable through 'the distancing effects of technology and the modern desire necessarily mediated by technology' such as film.[101] The texts analysed in this thesis use glamour as a tool to help fashion politics into an aspirational narrative. However, as this thesis demonstrates, the glamorous representation of state agenda is nothing more than an abstraction, a seductive mirage designed to manipulate female viewers towards a prescribed form of behaviour. Unattainable outside the imaginative limits of the film or television materials themselves, the glamorous state-supported vision is a fantasy and a fairy tale, which should be approached with a level of cynicism, and caution.

One of the most concerning aspects of the state's glamorous, gendered, fashion fantasy is the homogeneity of its address to women. In *Couture Culture* Nancy J. Troy identifies a tendency towards regularity in the fashion image at the beginning of the twentieth-century. Focussing on the mechanisms of fashion marketing particularly relating to the commercial work of French fashion designer Paul Poiret, Troy unveils the modernist paradox between originality and reproduction at the centre of fashion culture during this period, instigated by the rise of industrial production and mass marketing schemes.[102] According to Troy, the challenge to the fashion designer to hone a distinctive style was being

[100] Ibid., p. 5.
[101] Ibid., p. 5.
[102] Nancy J. Troy, *Couture Culture: A Study in Modern Art and Fashion* (Cambridge MA; London: MIT Press, 2003), p. 5.

constantly undermined by the industrial practices of copying, imitation and pastiche. As Troy argues, the resulting democratisation of fashion emerging from industrialisation and mass consumption created a form of uniformity to the fashion industry, an idea that works alongside Evans' description of the mechanical woman, as well as Lant's analysis of uniformed women in the mid-twentieth century period (discussed later in this chapter). This notion of uniformed, mechanical women, reproduced in an intertextual cycle of fashion images is one returned to regularly in this thesis, which analyses state-supported texts designed to communicate a formula of national womanhood for audience members to follow collectively, during transitional moments in Britain's past.

Tracing a history of fashion narratives on screen, Evans highlights the relationship between the early fashion show, and the silent film, which co-existed in the first thirty years of the twentieth-century. As Evans argues, 'Embracing modernist abstraction over psychological depth and realism, the mannequin in motion resembled a piece of film footage'. The early fashion show can hence be viewed as 'a kind of film strip of modern sensibilities',[103] and, as described by Marketa Uhlirova, as 'a form of window shopping'.[104] In her article '100 Years of the Fashion Film: Frameworks and Histories', Uhlirova observes the way film has been appropriated since the earliest days of film production, as an effective medium for 'recasting consumption as seductive visual entertainment'.[105] As she writes, even if we ignore the array of fiction films produced in connection with the fashion industry, there are 'multiple micro-histories' presented in non-fiction

[103] Evans, *The Mechanical Smile*, p. 7.
[104] Marketa Uhlirova, '100 Years of the Fashion Film: Frameworks and Histories', *Fashion Theory* 2, 17 (2013), 137-158 (p. 142).
[105] Ibid., p. 140.

film materials commissioned and financed by fashion houses, made exclusively to promote the national fashion industry. [106] She quotes a few examples, including comic fashion commercials made by French illusionist and filmmaker Georges Méliès in the late nineteenth-century, and ready-to-wear commercials made by Warner Film Company in the nineteen-tens. She also cites a Pathé Frères tinted film 'Women's Shoes in Lafayette Galleries', from 1912, and details Poiret's use of a coloured film as a substitute for a live fashion show, a trend which re-emerged in the late twentieth, and early twenty-first centuries. Uhlirova also acknowledges the trend in newsreels and cinemagazines promoting new fashions throughout the nineteen-tens and nineteen-twenties, early predecessors of those covered in this thesis, which privileged promotion by resting on 'the slowly moving body, part by part, in order to convey details of the item on display from multiple angles'.[107] She here describes early cinema as an entertaining medium that found its popularity in showing 'mesmerising visual effects of movement and spectacle' rather than narrative arcs, a tradition characterised by Tom Gunning as a form of 'attraction'. [108] Uhlirova describes the newsreel as 'a perfect marriage between fashion and cinema', which raised the profile of fashion houses whilst simultaneously boosting female cinema audiences.[109] Evans also draws attention the popular fashion show structure of young women falling asleep and dreaming of a fantastical fashion show, as a

[106] Ibid.
[107] Ibid. p. 142.
[108] Evans, *The Mechanical Smile*, p. 97. Tom Gunning, 'The Cinema of Attractions: Early Film, Its Spectator and the Avant-Garde', *Wide Angle*, 3/4, 8 (1986), 63-70.
[109] Uhlirova, '100 Years of the Fashion Film', p. 142.

device that gave 'narrative coherence to fantasy sequences of […] gorgeous dresses'.[110]

However, in addition to this propensity for spectacle and display, the fashion show can, like the fashion film, be seen to form an intertextual, urban narrative. Evans describes the mannequin's image as part of a 'rhythmic flow' of 'images, signs and commodities that circulated within and between the metropolitan centres of the new century',[111] with the image of the dressed mannequin helping to form the image of London, at the same time as her image was being shaped by the urban landscape. Evans here draws attention to the integrated relationship between the developing images of both cities, and fashion in the cultural, and economic landscape. As demonstrated in this thesis, fashion also has an important role to play in the construction of national image. Analysing later newsreels predominantly made from the nineteen-forties onwards during a period of national crises, this thesis observes the political exploitation of the marriage between fashion and newsreels, re-appropriated as a promotional tool to communicate, and further, a state agenda. Initially presented as spectacular articles used to showcase the potential of film as a moving image medium, newsreel fashions transform over the course of the Second World War, from 'modernist abstractions' into mesmerising coded symbols of an ideological state-approved female identity.

If fashion as spectacle, as discourse, as an emblem of the new industrial culture can be seen to have brokered some of the dilemmas of modernity, it also

---

[110] Evans, *The Mechanical Smile*, p. 97. An example of this narrative device can be seen in *Fashion Fantasy*, (Unknown, 1946), a film archived by the BFI and digitised for contemporary consumption on YouTube <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IYzF3Kwm57k> [accessed 27.10.2016].

[111] Evans, *The Mechanical Smile*, p. 237.

has an enduring relationship to a national agenda. Scholars such as Sue Harper, Sarah Street, Jackie Stacey, Christine Geraghty and Pam Cook have connected the clothed representation of women in the film industry on and off screen, with the historical, cultural, and social context of British film in the forties and early post-war period. Following a variety of methodological approaches, these scholars have produced a body of work that addresses the position of women in the economic, industrial workings of the film industry, and through analysis of costume in feature films, discuss their presentation as cultural icons. Far from being merely decorative or superficial, clothes manifest contradictions of national identity played out and resolved with women bearing the weight of the strains pertaining to national identity in a period of rapid change. Ideas of austerity and glamour, rationing and consumption, reality and fantasy, and national and international space, it is argued, are presented and worked through in feature films of the period. Sue Harper acknowledges the state's wartime involvement in the British film industry, and the impact this had on representations of women on screen. She here observes the attempts of official bodies such as the Foreign Office (FO), the Ministry of Information (MoI), the Historical Association (HA), the British Film Institute (BFI), and the British Board of Film Censors (BBFC), to influence British film at a time of 'acute social change',[112] and to refocus content towards propagandist aims.

The main film genres produced in Britain during the period of the Second World War were, according to Street, comedies, historical films, costume melodramas, and war films. The latter were concerned with experiences in the

[112] Sue Harper, *Picturing the Past: the Rise and Fall of the British Costume Film* (London: BFI Publishing, 1994), pp. 2-3.

services and on the home front, often displaying conservative representations of women, and their contributions to the war effort.[113] Ideas of nation were frequently connected with the concept of family, in the 'ultimate reaffirmation of [national] patriarchal values'.[114] In a similar vein in *Fashioning the Nation*, Pam Cook discusses the concept of national identity as an 'infantile longing' for home, traditionally reliant on patriarchal authority and gender stability.[115] She writes of official films of the thirties and forties as promotions of 'home-centred femininity', that foreground female 'self-sacrifice and submission' in the name of national unity.[116] However, both femininity and fashion (and particularly their combination) are given to reversals in meaning and official treatment. Harper describes the MoI's desire to 'reform popular culture' in this period. As an example of the influence of the Ministry, she describes the 'fearful and punitive response to female excess' in Ealing's wartime films, which present a need for such excess to be repressed 'under conditions of national emergency'.[117] According to Harper, Ealing's *The Next of Kin* (1942) was a propaganda film that began life as a War Office training film, and ended as a promotion for the MoI's 'Careless Talk Costs Lives' campaign.[118] It encourages women to act patriotically, presenting female 'duplicity and vanity' as 'ineluctably linked to a sense of national risk'.[119]

---

[113] Sarah Street, *British National Cinema* second edn. (London: Routledge, 2009) [first published in 1997], pp. 50-51.
[114] Ibid., p. 51.
[115] Pam Cook, *Fashioning the Nation: Costume and Identity in British Cinema* (London: British Film Institute, 1996), p. 2.
[116] Ibid., p. 3.
[117] Sue Harper, *Women in British Cinema: Mad, Bad and Dangerous to Know* (London; New York: Continuum, 2000), p. 36.
[118] Ibid., p. 35. *The Next of Kin*, dir by. Thorold Dickinson (Ealing, 1942).
[119] Harper, *Women in British Cinema*, p. 135.

In *Blackout: Reinventing Women for Wartime British Cinema*, film scholar Antonia Lant analyses the appropriation of forties British film production as a mobilising apparatus for war. As Lant argues, the condition of the Second World War sidelined notions of individual choice and freedom as secondary concerns to the larger consideration of national freedom, and the corresponding pursuit of national unity. According to Lant, wartime British cinema contributed to this 'nebulous, mental reshaping of citizens along nationalist lines'.[120] The Second World War represented a defining moment for British female identity, and a changing political engagement with women that presented a significant shift in gender roles. Acknowledged as having an essential part to play in the British war effort, British women were conscripted for the first time in history, with the enforcement of the National Service Act of 1941. Any single woman aged 20-31 qualified for conscription, and many additional women volunteered for service. As Lant explains, The Ministry of Labour categorised British women within two classifications – 'mobile' – women who could be moved anywhere for work, and 'immobile' – women who were required to work locally because they were either married, or had familial dependents. This idea of the 'mobile' woman was both literal and metaphorical. At the same time as 'mobile' women were physically on the move, relocated around the country for the purpose of war work, the 'category of woman was [also] on the move', as sexual difference was set aside for the benefit of national difference, in the construction of a national subject.[121] According to Lant, British films of this period worked to mobilise a national workforce, reaching out to both men and women.

---

[120] Antonia Lant, *Blackout: Reinventing Women for Wartime British Cinema* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991), p. 5.
[121] Ibid., p. 86.

The term 'mobile' presents both positive and negative connotations in shifting definitions of womanhood. On the one hand, the term connotes a sense of fracture, contradiction, uncertainty and tension in notions of femininity, and a lack of stability. Previously relied upon to uphold the certainty of family life through their secure position in the home, women were being mobilised away from the domestic sphere, and into the workforce. The idea of mobilisation also refers to the notion of a passive subject, dependent on the orders of powerful, institutional forces. On the other hand, the idea of a 'mobile' femininity can also be viewed as a liberating concept, foregrounding ideas of adaptability, flexibility, resourcefulness, and capability. Within the concept of female mobility, gender roles are hence de-stabilised, challenged, contradicted and re thought.

In *Blackout*, Lant's discussion of British women on screen, their identity, and their role in the Second World War is framed through a conversation on dress, and the emerging depiction of the uniformed woman. As Lant argues, the presentation of uniformed women in wartime films transformed the object of female spectacle from 'her individual fetishized body' to 'her devotion to duty'.[122] At this significant moment in British film making, the presentation of women on screen changed its focus, from how women looked, to what they could do. However, this was not a simple transition. As Lant writes, 'uniforming women ran counter to traditional notions of femininity',[123] presenting them as serious, active subjects with a role to play that was not simply defined by their relationship to men. Lant here observes a national discomfort with this image, despite its political necessity, outlining official concerns that wearing a uniform

[122] Ibid., p. 16.
[123] Ibid., p. 16.

would 'permanently empower its wearer' beyond the designated limits of war.[124] The War Office attempted to counteract the potentially liberating effects of female uniforms by commissioning official corset designs to be worn at all times during service.[125] This state enforced standard of appearance imbued women's dress, even their underwear, with an ideological national function.

However, as Harper identifies, there was a collection of films supported by the MoI during this period that present a slightly different view on female subjectivity. Harper traces a difference in films supported by the MoI, and films supported by the FO during the Second World War. Harper explains how the Foreign Office actively encouraged filmmakers to target an exclusively female audience, suggesting collaborations with local beauty shops to increase female interest.[126] This promotion of female desire worked in opposition to the MoI's propaganda films in which women 'were rigidly clamped into a middle-class ethic of respectability, routine and impassivity'.[127] Harper also writes of other films made independently of MoI support during the war such as *The Life and Death of Colonel Blimp* and *I Live in Grosvenor Square*,[128] which challenge traditional gender roles by making use of 'aristocratic motifs' as enabling devices 'for the representation of willful women'.[129] These films work in opposition to propagandist films presenting a language of 'middle-class reticence and restraint' to 'purge women's images of moral taint'.[130] Indeed, the popularity of

[124] Ibid., p. 107.
[125] Ibid., pp. 109-110.
[126] Harper, *Women in British Cinema*., p. 40.
[127] Ibid.
[128] *The Life and Death of Colonel Blimp*, dir. by Michael Powell and Emeric Pressburger (Rank, 1943). *I Live in Grosvenor Square*, dir. by Herbert Wilcox (Herbert Wilcox Productions, 1945).
[129] Harper, *Women in British Cinema*., p. 48.
[130] Ibid.

Gainsborough costume melodramas, writes Harper, films aimed specifically at women during the Second World War, was partly due to their use of an aristocratic motif.[131] She argues that, despite bad critical reviews, this group of films provided a major innovation in terms of gender representation, focusing on 'outrageously willful females' who 'have a wonderful time en route to their destruction'.[132]

In *Star Gazing* (1994), Jackie Stacey analyses the role of female Hollywood film stars in the post-war period, through the memories of female cinemagoers in Britain at that time. Rather than focusing on the representation of stars on film, Stacey addresses the way female viewers respond to female stars,[133] with attention to 'historical and national specificity'.[134] Focusing on the post-war period, Stacey writes of the way the forties and fifties are heavily mythologised in contemporary British culture, and, for many, continue to be 'characterized by its "make do and mend" mentality and obsession with the Second World War'.[135] Attention is also given to the way the period has been mythologised as an era of social change for British women who were drafted in to take men's roles in the British workforce while the male generation was away at war. She describes the particularly popular images in British cultural memory of women 'enjoying factory work' in the forties,[136] and contributing to the mid-fifties consumer boom, by spending money on fashion, beauty, and interior design. The relationship between the screen and the lives of women was

[131] Ibid., p. 38.
[132] Ibid., p. 43.
[133] Stacey, *Star Gazing*, p. 9.
[134] Ibid., p. 14.
[135] Ibid.
[136] Ibid.

mediated by the circulation of personal information about Hollywood stars in studio publicity campaigns. These would detail the material possessions, wealth and leisure time of individual stars with information on their 'cars, houses, swimming pools, holidays, clothes and extravagant American lifestyles', disseminated among British readers.[137] Stacey argues that forties British audiences were 'thus connected to consumption through regular information about the luxuries enjoyed by their idols'.[138] The respondents of her research project refer to their fascination with what the stars were wearing and how they styled their hair, describing the Hollywood star image as a fantasy,[139] a dream, and a fairy tale, that temporarily transported them into 'another world'.[140]

In identification with the Hollywood star, the spectators would often, according to Stacey, attempt to recreate the filmic fantasy in their own life, through 'extra-cinematic identificatory' practices of pretending, resembling, imitating and copying the stars they saw on screen.[141] Whilst pretending refers to the 'fantasy of becoming the star whilst viewing a film', and resembling involves an expression of desire to 'become more like the star generally', imitation and copying influence and attempt to transform the viewer's behaviour and appearance in the real world. Copying is particularly concerned with transforming the spectator's physical appearance through the purchasing of cosmetics and clothing, in a spectator's attempt to 'take on part of a star's identity and make it part of their own'.[142] This practice also demonstrates a form

[137] Ibid., p. 107.
[138] Ibid., p. 160.
[139] Ibid., p. 110.
[140] Ibid., p. 120.
[141] Ibid., pp. 160-70.
[142] Ibid., p. 170.

of intertextuality, in which spectators reference the films they have seen in the non-filmic spaces of their everyday life. Stacey's argument here makes a substantial contribution to the acknowledged participation of women in the economic system, both on and off screen. The notion that audiences identified with the women they saw on screen during, and immediately after the Second World War, an identification often presented through consumption, is relevant to the texts analysed in this thesis, which encourage their viewers to imitate and copy the characters on screen. In these texts, which are not Hollywood movies but forms of national information media, the character is often played by an unknown actress or model, rather than a famous star. However, there is evidence discussed throughout the case studies that, in making and supporting these texts, the state are attempting to facilitate a spectator desire to transform into an official image of the national woman.

According to Harper, it was not only Hollywood films that provided British women with a sense of temporary escape from the strains of war. She argues that British Gainsborough costume films were significant in constructing new ideas of national consciousness, and re-appropriating historical periods as 'site[s] of fantasy' that enabled a temporary escape from war, and the conservative, propagandist messages of state-supported film production.[143] In doing so, the costume films contributed 'key historical motifs' to popular culture and social memory.[144] Harper details the shifting relationship in the post-war period between Gainsborough's period costumes and contemporary fashions, influenced by the New Look. Whilst the popularity of Gainsborough's wartime

[143] Harper, *Picturing the Past*, p. 188.
[144] Ibid.

costumes was based on items that were banned during austerity rationing, the New Look shared a 'definition of femininity' with Gainsborough's emphasis of the female body.[145] Harper here begins to draw an association between film costume and female fashion consumption. To illustrate the state's involvement in shifting filmic attitudes towards female consumers, she discusses *Maytime in Mayfair,* a film made in 1949 and supported by the Board of Trade.[146] Clothes rationing was still in effect during 1949, and so this film presents more of a forward-looking vision than a reflection on contemporary social change. An 'escapist romance' as part of Herbert Wilcox's post-war 'London films', *Maytime in Mayfair* is set in a fashion house, and focuses on the New Look. Harper details the input of Harold Wilson, then president of the Board of Trade, and his frequent visits to Wilcox's film sets to monitor how British couture was being promoted.[147] However, despite the Board of Trade's economic interest in fashion as an export market, Harper speaks of the way 'all the major fashion and romance sequences [in *Maytime in Mayfair*] take place in the fantasy mode […] signaled as such by slow motion, dissolves or mist'.[148] With reference to editing and mise-en-scène, Harper describes the film's subliminal message to its audience, which presents romance and high fashion as still occupying 'the other, and not the real world'.[149] In this Board of Trade supported film, fashion is, according to Harper, depicted as a contradiction, simultaneously both a viable export industry, and a sustained form of fantasy.

---

[145] Ibid., p. 132.
[146] *Maytime in Mayfair*, dir. by Herbert Wilcox (Herbert Wilcox Productions, 1949).
[147] Harper, *Women in British Cinema*, p. 55.
[148] Ibid., p. 56.
[149] Ibid.

British film scholarship has mapped the role of film beyond the post-war period and into the following decades. In her study of *British Cinema in the Fifties* (2000), Christine Geraghty presents the 'new look', a period of 'social and cultural change' in Britain, framed in a discourse of fashion. [150] Through textual analysis, Geraghty introduces the concept of the 'new woman', a social construct of 'new look' Britain, and a character predicated on notions of 'motherhood, sexuality, paid work and consumption'.[151] Paid work contributed to the image of the female consumer in the fifties, who was shown spending money on domestic 'labour-saving devices', 'new fabrics such as nylon and rayon', clothes, and makeup.[152] Similarly, tracing changes in British film production during the immediate post-war decades, Street charts the growing depiction of youth subculture and liberalisation in the fifties, and the questioning of political ideologies reflected in the dress codes of Teddy boys, Mods, and Rockers.[153] Alongside the increasing depictions of youth subcultures, Street follows the simultaneous 'retreat of narratives based on women's experience outside the home or specifically about women's desires and issues'.[154] Similarly, in contrast to the unruly sexual desire of Gainsborough costume heroines, Harper describes mainstream female film characters of the sixties as promotional constructs for 'the regulation of heterosexual freedom', intended to warn of challenges created by women's liberation. Whilst Harper is here referring to fictional feature films, the informational texts analysed in this thesis demonstrate a similar attempt to regulate the fantasies and behaviours of British women.

---

[150] Christine Geraghty, *British Cinema in the Fifties: Gender, Genre and the 'New Look'* (London; New York: Routledge, 2000), p. xiii.
[151] Ibid., p. 29.
[152] Ibid., p. 33.
[153] Street, *British National Cinema*, p. 63.
[154] Ibid.

In addition, Harper describes cinema of the sixties as contributing to the 'self-mythologizing tendency of the period', and attributes partial responsibility for the prominent image of the 'Swinging Sixties' with British film.[155] Street also observes heightening themes of consumption, with the media's obsessive reproduction of the 'Swinging Sixties' myth, and recurrent themes of fashion boutique expansion, and the growing popularity of fashion photography.[156] However, complicating this story of nationhood and location, Pam Cook describes cinema as a metaphor for travel, 'through and between different identities in a constant movement of exile and return'. [157] Cook writes of the transformative potential of cinema to facilitate the masquerade of identity through a 'notoriously inauthentic' pastiche of mixed costume styles.[158] 'Fashion', writes Cook, 'is synonymous with change'. Slippery, unpredictable, and disconcerting, 'it constantly reworks the past in a frenzied pursuit of the new', and 'challenges the frontiers of the possible'.[159] In its endless mapping and predictions of future trends, fashion emphasises the potential for transformation, consolidating cinema's offer of changeable, fluid identities through the identification with a variety of characters and stars.

Similarly, in *Hollywood Catwalk* (2010), Tamar Jeffers McDonald traces the costume transformation story as a cross-generic intertextual narrative,[160]

---

[155] Harper, *Women in British Cinema*, p. 101.
[156] Street, *British National Cinema*, p. 85.
[157] Cook., p. 4.
[158] Ibid., pp. 6-7.
[159] Ibid., p. 44.
[160] Tamar Jeffers McDonald, *Hollywood Catwalk: Exploring Costume and Transformation in American Film* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2010), p. 8.

'enacted again and again' in mainstream American film. [161] According to McDonald, the theme of cosmetic transformation promotes the idea that the improved exterior will reveal a truth about the real character, previously hidden by their unattractive guise. As in fairy tale, the transformation is often premised on attracting a man, driven by the traditional Hollywood ending of the wedding, or its promise in romantic clinch.[162] McDonald here writes of the web of intertextual references that allude to the couture fashion show, with the wedding dress saved for the climactic ending, presenting the 'ultimate symbol of what a woman can transform herself into: a bride'.[163] According to McDonald, costume is a key element of the transformation scene in Hollywood film, 'exemplifying the "before" and "after" of the successful change',[164] evolving a visual grammar of transformation replicated across a range of intertexts. Stairs are observed as symbolic settings for the transformation motif, employing a 'sense of aspiration'; the downward descent and the revelation of the 'finished product' is associated with the familiar image of a princess making a grand entrance at a party.[165] McDonald frames the filmic transformation motif in terms of fairy tale discourse, noting the similarities between recurrent tropes in Hollywood transformation scenes, and the archetypal tales of 'Cinderella' and 'Pygmalion'. Whilst Pygmalion presents a male agent who creates a 'beautiful statue' with whom he can fall in love, Cinderella depicts a female protagonist who makes her own decision to transform, aided by a magic assistant such as a Fairy Godmother.[166] This motif is adopted in Hollywood film, in 'the transcendent power of costume

[161] Ibid., p. 3.
[162] Ibid., p. 7.
[163] Ibid., p. 14.
[164] Ibid., p. 8.
[165] Ibid., p. 12.
[166] Ibid., pp. 26-27.

to reveal the princess'.[167] McDonald describes scenes of women taking professional help from 'hairstylists, shop assistants and the like', as tropes of the 'Cinderella' canon, at times a conscious self-referential intertextuality as in *Pretty Woman*, when Vivian's 'rags-to-riches' rise from prostitution is referred to as the story of 'Cinda-fuckin'-rella'.[168] McDonald observes a didacticism at work in Hollywood's transformation narratives, premised on a traditional notion of film as 'a place for audiences to see how to behave as well as to dress',[169] describing Hollywood films as 'visual extensions' of early twentieth-century conduct literature, which provided 'information and guidance on polite manners and demeanor'.[170]

Audience identification with on screen transformation is here addressed as an economic strategy to influence the spending of female spectators. In a critical analysis that echoes Evans on the significance of the fashion show, McDonald describes these films as 'runway[s], down which beautiful people move wearing beautiful clothes – in order to sell'.[171] Audience members are aligned with 'customers attending a fashion show' enticed not only by the clothes, but also by how to wear them.[172] According to McDonald, fashion shows and Hollywood films are brought together in their shared commitment to sell an idea that 'purchasing power can assist us all to partake of the changes we desire'.[173] This desire is fuelled by an audience's dissatisfaction with their own image, which both makes them take pleasure in images of so-called perfect

[167] Ibid., p. 34.
[168] Ibid., p. 30. *Pretty Woman*, dir. by Garry Marshall (Tourchstone Pictures, 1990).
[169] McDonald., p. 13.
[170] Ibid.
[171] Ibid.
[172] Ibid., p. 14.
[173] Ibid.

female stars on screen, and creates a desire to 'emulate their perfection' in product consumption.[174]

The fairy tale transformation narrative, it should be noted, pre-dates the contemporary period. In *Fashioning Film Stars* (2005), Rachel Moseley describes the 'Cinderella' motif in relation to Audrey Hepburn's star persona, a tale of 'romance, growing up and transformation through dress' visible in her characters' experiences, and in publicity about her real life.[175] Moseley also connects Hepburn's role in *My Fair Lady* with the tale of 'Pygmalion', a story of transformation through clothes and education to achieve transcendence of social class.[176] Like McDonald and Stacey, Moseley discusses spectator identification with the filmic notion of transformation. Whilst Hepburn's own wardrobe was mainly couture, her simple style allowed young women to make homemade copies of her clothes.[177] In particular, Moseley notes how interviewees remembered choosing their wedding dress based on what Hepburn 'would have worn'.[178] Moseley describes the spectator's wedding as 'their own special "Cinderella" day', 'the ultimate moment of coming out into the world and being on display in women's lives'.[179] Stella Bruzzi, in *Undressing Cinema* (1997), also discusses the costumes of Audrey Hepburn, writing of the 'demise of the costume designer and inverse rise of the couturier' visible in *Sabrina* and *Funny*

[174] Ibid., p. 33.
[175] Rachel Moseley, *Fashioning Film Stars: Dress, Culture, Identity* (London: BFI Publishing, 2005), p. 116.
[176] Ibid., p. 117. *My Fair Lady*, dir. by George Cukor (Warner Bros, 1964).
[177] Moseley, *Fashioning Film Stars*, p. 118.
[178] Ibid.
[179] Ibid.

Face.[180] Bruzzi argues against the 'mandatory bridesmaid status' given to the study of film costume, in which costume is simply 'a means of understanding the body or character who wears them'.[181] Instead, Bruzzi writes of clothing's potential to 'impose rather than absorb meaning', and to act as ends in themselves.[182] Key to her argument is the distinction between costume and couture design: whilst costume is associated with a fabrication of clothes designed to 'serve the purpose of the narrative', couture creates a 'spectacle and mechanism for display' imposed onto the narrative as a form of 'intervention'.[183] Bruzzi is here discussing the role of dress in fictional cinema. However, whilst the definition of 'couture' as a spectacular visual attraction corresponds to Uhlirova's description of fashion in early twentieth-century newsreels, the notion of 'costume' as a communicative narrative device is relevant to the discussion of fashion in this thesis as a medium of ideological address. The contradictory notion of fashion as both an item of pleasurable display, and a vehicle for political propaganda is as relevant to twentieth-century information media as it is for Hollywood feature films.

Pamela Church Gibson, editor of the journal *Film, Fashion and Consumption*, argues that fashion can act independently of its wearer. In the journal's inaugural editorial published in 2012, Gibson observes the role of product placement in feature films, illustrated in the cinematic incarnations of

[180] Stella Bruzzi, *Undressing Cinema: Clothing and Identity in the Movies* (London: Routledge, 1997), p. 6. *Sabrina*, dir. by Humphrey Bogart (Paramount Pictures, 1954). *Funny Face*, dir. by Stanley Donen (Paramount Pictures, 1957).
[181] Bruzzi, *Undressing Cinema*, p. xiv.
[182] Ibid.
[183] Ibid., pp. xv-3.

Sex and the City.[184] The independent display of 'Blahnik shoes placed reverently on a shelf' and 'a Louis Vuitton handbag presented as a gift and held in shot' foreground the 'goods themselves'.[185] These goods impose their star status, instigating momentary interventions onto the film's narrative. Here, the fashion item takes precedence in the telling of its own story: not the narrative of the film, but moreover, a tale of its own desirability as a commodity. The story of the Louis Vuitton handbag is inseparable from its fictional owner, Carrie Bradshaw. However, as well as helping to tell her story, the Louis Vuitton handbag uses Bradshaw to tell its own, supplementary narrative, promising that, if purchased, it will transform the viewer's reality into the lifestyle they see on screen. In summary, contemporary analyses of Hollywood feature films foreground the increased presence and versions of invitations to the spectator to transform through identification with the characters, objects, and clothes on screen. Effective partly through a didactic tradition of showing audiences how to dress and how to behave, it also wields intertextual references of the past and the contemporary to secure its success. However, it is not only feature films that enter into this intertextual fashion discourse. This thesis demonstrates the significance of fairy tale transformation narratives in non-fiction screen media, structured around a didactic address that also tells its audience how to dress and behave. This address has an intertextual function, in that it references nostalgic representations of female behaviour in historical media forms.

In 2012, Pamela Church Gibson defined 'Fashion Film' broadly as a 'novel, possibly transient genre' of films in which 'the fashion presence is

[184] *Sex and the City*, dir. by Michael Patrick King (New Line Cinema, 2008).
[185] Pamela Church Gibson, 'Editorial', *Film, Fashion and Consumption*, 1 (2012), 3-6 (p. 5).

central'.[186] In recent years academic discussion of clothes on screen has begun to move away from costume and film as a discrete medium, to allow a wider discussion of multiple media platforms and a simultaneous inclusion of non-fiction media forms. Academic dialogues have also begun to move away from gendered debate to a more central focus on fashion's economic role in explicit forms of advertising media in a supposedly post-feminist culture. I will here trace an emergence of academic writing concerned to embed fashion in film criticism within a network of media.

Current analyses of fashion in film highlight the multifaceted definitions of the term 'fashion'. As costume it is a narrative device and a pleasurable spectacle. As an attainable item of clothing it is a commodity. As an industry, it is a business with economic and political power. This scholarship also acknowledges the multiple definitions of film. In the editorial of the first edition of the journal *Film, Fashion and Consumption*, Pamela Church Gibson calls for the recognition of a diverse field of media texts to be included within the spectrum of fashion in film research. She writes of a change in the 'topography of visual culture' over the last decade in which leading fashion houses commission television commercials, and film stills are included in magazine advertising campaigns.[187] Film no longer refers only to cinema. Films are made for, and shown, on television, digital video, and online platforms. Fashion commercials are directed by feature film directors and tell fictional stories. Feature films collaborate with and are sponsored by fashion brands. Fashion designers reference film in catwalk shows. Digital shorts are streamed online.

[186] Pamela Church Gibson, *Fashion and Celebrity Culture* (London; New York: Berg, 2012), pp. 83-93.
[187] Church Gibson, 'Editorial', p. 5.

Commenting on this dispersal of the fashion film, Marketa Uhlirova writes 'the fashion film and the debate about it are surrounded by a certain messiness, with a staggering plurality of views as to what exactly constitutes it'.[188]

Church Gibson argues we 'cannot look at the different strands in isolation'.[189] Instead, 'we need to consider the entire spectrum of media discourses and the way in which images move – or are moved – across them'.[190] Perhaps a more accurate term to use in this discussion is 'fashion media', the title of a book edited by Djurdja Bartlett, Shaun Cole, and Agnès Rocamora (2013),[191] where the presence of fashion in an assortment of places can be acknowledged and addressed. In a special edition of the journal *Film, Fashion and Consumption*, Helen Warner argues that whilst 'there is much to learn from the work on fashion and film […] there is [also] much that television studies can offer the field of costume and cinema'.[192] Warner sets out the gap in fashion and television research, acknowledging certain historical prejudices, as she names them, that regard television a '"lesser" medium', with its 'connection to the "domestic", "trivial" and "everyday"'.[193] Warner argues that the rich tradition of audience research and ethnography provides a useful foundation for the examination of costume and audiences in everyday televisual media.[194] To illustrate this, the journal edition that she guest-edits includes chapters on

[188] Marketa Uhlirova, 'The Fashion Film Effect', in *Fashion Media: Past and Present* (London; New Delhi; New York; Sydney: Bloomsbury, 2013), pp. 118 – 29 (p. 120).
[189] Church Gibson, 'Editorial', p. 5.
[190] Ibid.
[191] Djurdja Bartlett, Shaun Cole, and Agnès Rocamora ed. *Fashion Media: Past and Present*.
[192] Helen Warner, 'Editorial: Fashion, Television and Beyond', *Film, Fashion and Consumption,* 2 (2013), 3-6 (p. 4).
[193] Ibid., p. 3.
[194] Ibid., p. 4.

'constructions of Latinness' in US sitcom *Ugly Betty*,[195] the treatment of breast cancer in British reality show *How To Look Good Naked*,[196] and 'tween culture' in Disney's *Sonny With a Chance*.[197] Charting the complex relationship between fashion, television, and visual culture, this journal edition is significant in engendering 'a more contextual, multidimensional and interdisciplinary approach' to academic discourse of fashion on screen.[198] Film diversifies into other media, including television. In an intertextual media economy, British television broadcasters have built relationships with independent film companies and Hollywood studios, facilitating a 'two-way flow of personnel, funds and concepts', which benefit both parties from economic and aesthetic perspectives.[199] Contributing to the 'hybrid nature of popular culture', [200] film and television operate as multi-platform mediums, each referencing the other in the 'construction of a collective cultural memory' designed to package and sell fashion narratives that, for the texts studied in this thesis, reinforce institutional, cultural ideologies.[201] Operating across media, the film and television texts investigated here are both implicated in a commercial discourse, working to transform 'the national past into a cultural commodity',[202] whilst presenting marketable narratives in 'an economy dependent on overseas sales'.[203] The convergence of film and television is key to the analysis of this thesis, which

---

[195] Dolores Tierney, 'Ugly Betty's Latina Body: Race, Ethnicity, Class and Gender in Contemporary US Television', *Film, Fashion and Consumption,* 1, 2 (2013), 7-23.
[196] Liz Powell, 'Refashioning the Post-Mastectomy Body in How To Look Good Naked', *Film, Fashion and Consumption,* 1, 2 (2013), 43-54.
[197] Morgan Genevieve Blue, 'D-Signed for Girls: Disney Channel and Tween Fashion', *Film, Fashion and Consumption,* 1, 2 (2013), 55-75.
[198] Helen Warner, 'Tracing Patterns: Critical Approaches to Onscreen Fashion', *Film, Fashion and Consumption,* 1 (2012), 121-32 (p. 129).
[199] Belen Vidal, *Heritage Film: Nation, Genre and Representation* (London and New York: Wallflower (Short Cuts), 2012), p. 29.
[200] Ibid., p. 27.
[201] Ibid., p. 2.
[202] Ibid., p. 4.
[203] Ibid., p. 29.

traces the patterns and references sustained between a string, or series, of film and television texts over an extended period of time.

Other fashion media singled out for critical attention in contemporary fashion scholarship are the fashion documentary and the digital short film. In an article on the film *Bill Cunningham New York*,[204] Adam Szymanski describes the 'fashion documentary' as a genre with 'inherent political potentiality' to deconstruct the fashion system.[205] However, according to Szymanski, *Bill Cunningham New York* fails to do so, opting to perpetuate 'fashion's class-based hierarchies' as opposed to offering a critique.[206] In contrast to documentary's 'outsider' status, digital short films, often abstract in style, are commissioned by fashion brands to enhance or replace the experience of the catwalk show. Marketa Uhlirova writes of the 'insider' status of the digital fashion short: 'While the practice of showing fashion through the moving image (and sound) is hardly new, the phenomenon of the fashion film as a widespread form driven and controlled by the fashion industry has only gained momentum in the last decade'.[207] Amidst questions surrounding the overt commercial interest of fashion film producers, Uhlirova places the digital genre 'on the margins of conventional advertising'.[208] Part of its appeal, she argues, is its greater sense of accessibility compared to feature films, offering image sequences available at any time via online archives such as SHOWstudio.[209] Interestingly, Uhlirova connects this recent genre with early cinema. As a 'display of clothing in

[204] *Bill Cunningham New York*, dir. by Richard Press (First Thought Films, 2010).
[205] Adam Szymanski, 'Bill Cunningham New York and the Political Potentiality of the Fashion Documentary', *Film, Fashion and Consumption,* 1 (2012), 289-304 (pp. 293-95).
[206] Ibid., p. 302.
[207] Uhlirova, 'The Fashion Film Effect', p. 118.
[208] Ibid., p. 121.
[209] Ibid., p. 119. SHOWstudio <http://showstudio.com> [accessed 18.11.16].

motion', digital fashion film, she argues, resonates the serpentine dance of early cinema in which costume is used to visualise continuity in motion and time,[210] adding that the focus on display over narrative recalls the cinema of attractions.[211] She also notes that, in a previous guise, 'fashion film' was a term used to describe early twentieth-century Pathé newsreels.[212]

Current discussions of fashion in film address a variety of different media platforms, drawing together the strands of fashion journalism, fashion advertising, fashion criticism, and fashion fiction. The cross-generic discourse on 'fashion film' is articulated by Marketa Uhlirova as 'an ubergenre, an umbrella term that accommodates, and breaks down the boundaries of, a great variety of existing genres'.[213] Although she refers here specifically to the digital genre, which in itself contains a wide variety of forms, we can read this definition in relation to the broadening scope of academic discussion on 'fashion film'. We here see a new form of cross marketing and thematic intertextuality across multiple media platforms that extend notions of fashion film beyond the cinema to the television screen, the computer, and the smartphone.

Investigation in this thesis sits at an intersection between the three areas of scholarly debate on fashion and film discussed above. Corresponding with work by film scholars Sarah Street, Sue Harper, and Pam Cook, the first two chapters in this thesis consider fashioned constructions of gender in post-war British cinema. However, this investigation also forms a departure from the

[210] Ibid., p. 123.
[211] Ibid., p. 124.
[212] Ibid., p. 119.
[213] Ibid., p. 121.

discussed scholarship, in focussing on 'non-fiction', 'information' media, as oppose to fictional feature films. The texts studied in this thesis present themes of transformation and intertextuality, operating within a discourse of magic, make-believe, and fairy tale akin to analysis of contemporary Hollywood feature films with fashion focused narratives. However, the texts under investigation here are British informational media texts made for a collection of public screening venues and television screens, far from the studio culture of Hollywood. They also provide evidence for a history of fashion transformation narratives on screen far pre-dating the contemporary Hollywood film canon. Finally, these texts contribute to current scholarship on the expanding boundaries of fashion film criticism; but while the majority of this scholarship looks forward to where fashion film is headed in the digital age, this thesis interrogates the historical influences behind the fashion film genre, and begins to narrate a tale of its heritage.

Heritage

In the last few decades, cultural historians including Patrick Wright and Robert Hewison have been raising concerns surrounding the notion of cultural authenticity in response to the National Heritage Acts of 1980 and 1983, which, as explained by Claire Monk, supported the Conservatives' right to 'appropriate the values of "tradition" and "history" in support of their own political agendas'.[214] According Monk, these Acts 'legislatively formalised' the 'official promotion of a heritage industry' by the Thatcher government, which worked to construct and maintain 'a particular dominant conception of the national past'

[214] Claire Monk, *Heritage Film Audiences: Period Films and Contemporary Audiences in the UK* (Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press, 2011), p. 12.

through the commercial exploitation of historical landscapes and private properties.[215] It is argued that this Conservative commodification of heritage, 'worked to naturalise public acceptance of the values and interests of the propertied classes as *national* values and the *national* interest',[216] manipulating an image of national identity represented solely by the wealthiest classes. As a top-down political narrative, history is here presented as a tale of the national past constructed by those in power. It is a history written to serve a political agenda, implicated in commercial and economic discourse. It is not a linear presentation of factual events, but a creative fantasy designed to influence the national image, and impose an ideological viewpoint on its citizens. However, in the consistent reproduction of this historical narrative, not only in popular culture but also in political discourse and legal legislation, this tale is not sold as a fantasy: it is presented as the truth. Its purpose is to be believed.

Describing a conservative vision of national identity based on a constructed notion of tradition, Patrick Wright raises concerns that the past is invading the present, 'as if the whole of British society was frozen over in an arresting display of the past'.[217] Wright here describes national identity as a form of 'unitary symbolism', a 'publically vaunted' image based on the circulation of official stories about British history,[218] 'in the service of nation'.[219] As he argues, these stories reflect an attempt at Conservative authoritarianism and are not to be confused with histiographic truth or 'the way it really was'.[220] According to

[215] Ibid., p. 11.
[216] Ibid., p. 11. Emphasis as in original.
[217] Patrick Wright, p. 3.
[218] Ibid., p. 3.
[219] Ibid., p. 25.
[220] Ibid., p. 26.

Wright, these officially produced stories are designed as part of a cultural export strategy. Selective versions of British history communicated through frequently repeated tales of national identity disseminated by national institutions and public broadcasts construct a notion of tradition using a potent combination of fact and fantasy, reality and fiction.

As outlined in the introduction, Alan Sinfield describes the cultural reproduction of familiar stories in the reinforcement of national ideologies. Here, Sinfield's argument helps to link archives with fairy tales, as institutional stories that overstate key motifs and help shape our views of the world and the way we live in it. As discussed in Chapter 2, state control and influence over both archives and fairy tales gives both an ideological agenda, in the rewriting of history, and the construction of nostalgia, for a time that never was. As Sinfield argues, these tales pervade over media forms, from entertainment to education to advertising, powerful stories that transmit power to powerful groups.[221]

In Robert Hewison's opinion, the 'heritage industry' created through constructed stories of the national past has replaced physical industry as an exportable idea of Britain's success. He describes the whole of the United Kingdom as one large museum, focused on the preservation of cultural ideas, and notions of national tradition. These cultural ideas are disseminated, as Hewison argues, through museums, but also, through a myriad of additional cultural forms, including print journalism, photographic images, television dramas, and news broadcasting. It is not museums alone, but a cross-medium, multi-

[221] Sinfield, p. 25.

disciplinary combination of cultural storytellers who, together, 'present a picture of a country obsessed with its past, and unable to face its future'.[222] Far from being neutral, institutions such as museums and archives operate within a narrative culture, a postmodern network of intertextual cultural narratives that 'help to form the culture which they are assumed merely to reflect',[223] constructing a nationally approved web of stories about Britain's past in which the threads of fact and fiction become almost impossible to separate.

In *Theatres of Memory*, historian Raphael Samuel launches a 'sustained critique of the conventional production of historical knowledge', in an attempt to 'reanimate the historical imagination for our times'.[224] Rejecting the hierarchical notion that historical knowledge 'filters downwards' from those in power,[225] Samuel argues that institutionalised histories indulge primarily in 'make believe' and 'dressing up'.[226] In opposition to academic representations of history 'subject to the imperatives of narrativization', Samuel explores the concept of 'unofficial knowledges', or lived histories, based on human emotion and memory.[227]

Samuel disagrees with scholars who label the heritage industry as 'the preserve of the conservative and parochial', arguing against the idea that the heritage industry is politically aligned to either the left or the right.[228] As he writes, in the fifties, British design was focused on modernisation, 'the

---

[222] Hewison, p. 9.
[223] Ibid., pp. 9-10.
[224] Raphael Samuel, *Theatres of Memory: Past and Present in Contemporary Culture* third edn. (London; New York: Verso, 2012) [first published in 1996], p. vii.
[225] Ibid., p. 4
[226] Ibid., p. ix.
[227] Ibid., p. ix.
[228] Ibid., p. xi-xv.

opposition between the old and dirty and the new and clean', symbolised by the 1951 Festival of Britain.[229] In a decade that saw the nation attempting to move forward, away from the destruction of the Second World War, 'anything old was seen as suspect', and country houses were, in particular, regarded as 'moribund'.[230] As taste began to change again in the seventies, with a preference for soft furnishings, Samuel notes that the renewed cultural preoccupation with the preservation of traditional styles focused predominantly on architecture and interior design. He writes,

> Beneath the period dress, a great deal of what passes for restoration is Modernization in disguise, a continuation and extension of the 1950s ideals of open-plan living, rather than a reversal of them. It involves changes of occupancy, transformations of function, and physical surgery which effectively make a rehabilitated property brand-new, even when its period features have been emphasised.[231]

Samuel refers specifically here to the period conversion of Victorian townhouses, refurbished with modern conveniences such as central heating and double glazed windows that are then concealed behind period fittings. As he argues, 'retrofitting depends as much on concealing the evidence of modernity as in multiplying period effects'.[232] As Samuel observes, these idealisations of 'heritage' environments are not institutional, but individual, acted out privately in peoples' homes. He writes, it is 'the little platoons, rather than the great society, which command attention in this new version of the national past; the spirit of place rather than that of the common law or the institutions of

[229] Ibid., p. 56.
[230] Ibid., p. 58.
[231] Ibid., p. 75.
[232] Ibid., p. 77.

representative government'.[233] According to Samuel, the heritage narrative is not one based on a parochial heritage of landowning aristocracy, but rather, a history we can see being played out in the everyday lives of British people, built on an urban heritage.[234] As he argues, this urban heritage is tied very much to consumption, with shopping 'enjoying a new visibility in representations of the national past' with period general stores and museum shopping streets such as Beamish.[235] In addition to this trend in period shopping attractions, Samuel notes an increasing tendency towards communal preservation schemes, with the development of local amenity services, regional wildlife trusts, conservationist groups, communes and food co-ops. In these examples of urban, and socially focused preservation projects, Samuel argues that the 'new version of the national past, notwithstanding the efforts of the National Trust to promote a country-house version of "Englishness" is inconceivably more democratic than earlier ones'. Far from a purely Conservative ideal, heritage narratives are here described to offer 'more points of access to "ordinary people" and a wider form of belonging'.[236] As an industry encouraging people 'to look down rather than up in reconstituting their roots', heritage as it has developed since the sixties is, according to Samuel, 'a cultural capital' on which we are all invited to draw.[237]

In the eighties and early nineties, film scholar Andrew Higson brought cultural commentaries on the heritage industry into a discussion on British costume films, opening up the 'heritage debate' as a strand of academic critique in film studies. As films set in the past, the genre of 'heritage film' identified in

[233] Ibid., p. 158.
[234] Ibid., p. 159.
[235] Ibid., p. 160.
[236] Ibid., p. 160.
[237] Ibid., pp. 237-238.

this debate and outlined by Monk, incorporates a range of films, including literary adaptations, films based on real historical figures or events, narratives set both in the distant past and in living memory, texts that claim to present historical accuracy, and dramas expressing an imaginative license.[238] This simultaneous tendency towards both authenticity and reinterpretation in the heritage film reflects the contradiction of terms inherent in a historical study of archives (described in Chapter 2), particularly as the representation of history presented on screen is so often the product of archival research.

As Belen Vidal notes, the heritage film 'is not a genre in the industrial sense of the term. Rather, the concept has its roots in British film studies, where it has become associated with a powerful undercurrent of nostalgia for the past'.[239] According to Vidal, the term 'heritage film' is also synonymous with 'period film' and 'costume film' or 'costume drama' as a 'type of film that places its characters in a recognisable moment of the past, enhanced by the mise-en-scène of historical reconstruction'.[240] However, as this thesis demonstrates, the heritage film genre can also incorporate historical texts that have been re-appropriated for contemporary viewers, such as the wartime newsreels digitised for millennial viewing. Rather than a reconstruction of the past, these texts present a re-framing of the past, which recontextualises the original material as a form of nostalgic storytelling.

The past presented in heritage films is identified by Higson as one dominated by a conservative aesthetic, which privileges an uncritical

[238] Monk, p. 1.
[239] Vidal, p. 1.
[240] Ibid., p. 1.

iconography of the elitist English class system, an idyllic, rural landscape, and a whimsical, nostalgic vision of the British empire.[241] As projections 'closely allied to English literary culture and the canons of good taste', these cinematic representations of Britain's past were ideologically engaged in the constructed vision of British national identity of the nineteen-eighties, in ways that served the Thatcherite agenda.[242] Higson saw these films working towards the 'commodification of museum culture' described above, implicated in the 'potent marketing of the past as part of the new enterprise culture'. [243] For Higson, the heritage films' nostalgic reconstruction of aristocratic life in stately homes acts as part of the same ideological agenda as the heritage and tourism industries' renewed focus on opening National Trust and English Heritage properties to the public for a fee. Vidal writes,

> The packaging of the past as an "experience" in museums and heritage sites transferred well into a strand of film criticism that saw the success of the 1980s British period dramas as part of a larger cultural phenomenon: the commerce of heritage […]. It soon became apparent that the consumption of period fictions could operate almost as an extension of guided visits and heritage trails as they involved recreations that transformed the national past into easily comprehensible narratives and spectacular views of objects, landscapes and works of civil architecture.[244]

As Vidal argues, popular period dramas trade 'on a nostalgic view of history as an attractive commodity', contributing 'to the sustained investment in properties managed by National Trust schemes through location fees' and increased visitor numbers. Similarly, museum and heritage centres exploit the

[241] Higson., p. 4
[242] Monk, p. 4.
[243] Higson, p. 1.
[244] Vidal, p. 15

evocative tendency of cinema to inspire audience fantasy, by including film as part of their visitor experience.[245] This can include clips from feature films, but also from newsreels or television broadcasts, which constitute archival media.

The definition of heritage film extends beyond the full-length feature viewed in the cinema or on DVD. As demonstrated by analysis in this thesis, it can also extend to informational media texts. The texts studied in this thesis engage with constructed visions of British national identity in a range of decades, spanning from the nineteen-forties to the twenty-tens and are not specific to Thatcher's eighties conservative government. They cannot be stated to privilege rural landscapes, as they are most frequently located either in small domestic spaces, or in the centre of London. However, they do adhere to Higson's definition of texts that promote a 'whimsical, nostalgic vision of the British empire'. They are also ideologically constructed texts that serve a national, political agenda, both at their time of creation, and at the time of their re-viewing, although the nature of this agenda changes over the course of time. As intertexts contributing to the same network of historical references as period dramas, museum exhibitions, institutionalised archive collections, news broadcasts and print journalism, the texts addressed in this thesis hold particular value as projections of the national past operating to promote Britain's contemporary image at home and abroad.

According to those engaged in the heritage film debate, the evocation of fantasy in heritage narratives allows audiences to escape from their current

[245] Ibid., p. 16

situations 'into worlds safely located in the past'.[246] Vidal goes so far as to argue that the symbiotic relationship between preservation and construction in the narrating of heritage stories has its origins in the historical travelogue films of the early twentieth-century.[247] This concept of historical tourism as a means to escape, or get away, allows the heritage film to function as a divergent device in 'moments of political crises',[248] designed to stabilise national identity in the 'construction of a collective cultural memory'.[249] As Vidal writes, 'The heritage film thus has become a supple term to refer to the ways in which national cinemas turn to the past at different moments in their histories in search of their own foundational myths'.[250] These myths are grounded by the 'visual culture of pastiche and simulacra' that 'dominates our relationship with the past', in the constant repetition of generic motifs and intertextual references perpetuated throughout the heritage film genre, and further, across a combination of cultural forms.[251]

In *British Cinema in the 1980s* (1999), John Hill challenges Higson's approach to heritage film, arguing that it is too simple. Hill argues that generalised debates about heritage culture have 'obscured "the sexual politics and pleasures" which these films may be seen to provide'.[252] As he writes, the cultural denouncement of heritage films could, arguably be the product of a 'traditional suspicion of texts which primarily appeal to women (or gay men)',[253]

[246] Ibid., p. 16.
[247] Ibid., p. 16.
[248] Ibid., p. 36.
[249] Ibid., p. 2.
[250] Ibid., p. 3.
[251] Ibid., p. 18.
[252] John Hill, *British Cinema in the 1980s: Issues and Themes* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999), p. 97.
[253] Ibid.

with 'de-centred narrative structures and spectatorial pleasures […] in which it is men – rather than women – who are looked at'.[254] Hill here argues that the heritage debate is based on an assumption of essentialist femininity, in which women's main interests revolve around clothes and appearance, an assumption that lacks any form of 'critical inspection of how this "feminine" appeal is ideologically mobilized'.[255] In his view, the heritage debate fails to challenge the fixed expectations of social and sexual identity, neglecting the significance of subversion that many heritage films offer to their female audience.[256]

Hill also criticises the heritage film debate for its reliance on a 'secondhand' vision of the past, based not on the audience's personal lived memories, but on media constructed visions of history. He writes,

> [T]he nostalgia of the heritage film is for images and imaginings of the past as much as any "real" lived past and thus for a past which is dependent upon intertextual references to other representations of the past as much as it is to the referant of "real" history.[257]

He argues that the unrealistic depiction of a perfect past to which we would all like to return is challenged in the heritage film through its acknowledgement of social faults and flaws. The categorisation of the heritage film as a form of Conservative propaganda is also undermined through the depiction of characters who try and break out from the confines of aristocratic social circles, to 'forge relationships across social class [...] or other social divides'.[258] In Hill's view,

---

[254] Ibid.
[255] Ibid.
[256] Ibid.
[257] Ibid., p. 85.
[258] Ibid., p. 90.

this aspect of heritage film culture is ignored by the heritage debate's preoccupation with idealised, Conservative notions of Britain's past.

Since the mid-nineteen-nineties, a further strand of academic criticism has been applied to the heritage film debate itself, referred to by film scholar Claire Monk as 'post-heritage'.[259] Monk challenges the 'highly generalised and explicitly dismissive' approach towards all period films 'as a unified entity',[260] criticising the approach as a 'reductive analysis'.[261] She condemns the disciplinary institutionalisation of the heritage film, and rejects the superficial impression that it represents a 'clearly defined, agreed and unproblematic category'.[262] According to Monk, the heritage debate has thus far neglected to consider the role of audiences, and their varying relationships with the films in question.[263] Rejecting, as she terms, the 'stereotyped and denigrated'[264] discussion of heritage film audiences as an 'undifferentiated mass',[265] Monk introduces new complexities into the heritage debate by taking account of the 'identities, viewing habits, tastes, perspectives and testimonies of their actual audience'.[266] In addition to this audience analysis, Monk questions the continuing viability of this argument in the face of an ever-widening range of period films made throughout evolving political climates of the nineties and noughties, enabling an extended discussion on the definition of heritage film that challenges the limits of its generic boundaries.[267] Belen Vidal also contributes to

[259] Monk, p. 23.
[260] Ibid., p. 2.
[261] Ibid., p. 13.
[262] Ibid., p. 3.
[263] Ibid., p. 3.
[264] Ibid., p. 8.
[265] Ibid., p. 21.
[266] Ibid., p. 4.
[267] Ibid., p. 5.

a ‘post-heritage’ discussion on period film, identifying a tension at the centre of the critique, ‘between the surface of visual splendour and the liberal messages delivered by […] character-centred dramas’, [268] depicting social figures such as women, homosexuals, and ethnic minorities commonly marginalised in other forms of mainstream cinema. This work by Monk and Vidal offers possibility for further investigation. Reproaching the reductive definition of ‘heritage film’ in scholarly debate, they open out its discussion, facilitating a wider conversation on the heritage film and its relationship to the wider world of cultural storytellers.

The relationship here between commercial film production and state-funded institutional narratives becomes complicated, implicated in a parallel national agenda. As a genre that has the capacity to encompass a more diverse range of media than the specific examples of costume dramas and historical re-enactments currently included in its discussion, the heritage film can also be seen as more than an isolated category of film production. In its capacity to disseminate nostalgic tales about Britain’s past, the heritage film contributes to the intertextual, historically referential, postmodern condition of cultural forms, including museums, which propagate and commercially exploit fantasy narratives about the cultural and economic value of British history and tradition.

The debate surrounding heritage filmmaking forms part of a wider cultural discussion on ‘the historical imagination’ and its role in the cultural policy making of nation-states. According to Jim McGuigan, ‘the past exerts

[268] Vidal, p. 9.

tremendous ideological sway' in an image of national identity, owing to the 'emotional force' of nostalgic patriotism. McGuigan discusses the 'nostalgia mode in cinema' as a product of the politically driven, commercial exploitation of history in entertainment media, epitomised by the vision of Walt Disney World's Mainstreet USA, 'the most famous simulation of an imaginary past for entertainment purposes, one which combines national propaganda with infantile regression'. [269] Drawing together the ideologically charged notions of nation-state, heritage, commerce, and fairy tale, McGuigan here presents an example of how urban regeneration strategies marketed at the elite have crossovers with national heritage promotion. As well as through the architectural construction of institutional buildings and the preservation of historical landmarks, the 'indirect economic benefits' derived from this form of 'city marketing' can be increased through investment in festivals, and media captured events. [270] McGuigan discusses the argument that the immediate post-war period saw a practice of state intervention and cultural subsidy in Britain rationalised through a focus on 'national prestige',[271] a form of cultural policy that simplified the nation-state to such a degree that it encouraged a 'politically apathetic "civic privatism" in everyday life'. At the same time, this derivative flattening of national image, often facilitated through print and screen media fostered a reactionary counter-culture, predominantly among Sixties' youth, which challenged the official, prevailing voice of national culture. [272] The contradiction between state narratives and counter cultural movements highlights the fantastical construction of institutional, historical storytelling, as one version of a much larger tale. Like

[269] Jim McGuigan, *Culture and the Public Sphere* (London and New York: Routledge, 1996), p. 118.
[270] Ibid., p. 107.
[271] Ibid., p. 54.
[272] Ibid., p. 52.

the vision of Disney's Mainstreet USA, the state presents an imaginary past designed to entertain, but also, more significantly, to educate, inform, and instruct. It is an ideologically charged, flattened history, simultaneously implicated in economic, political, and fairy tale discourse. McGuigan's discussion of urban regeneration strategies relocates the heritage narrative from the rural idyll into the city, a pertinent movement when considered against the texts studied in this thesis, frequently set in London. The discussion of media captured events and their role in city marketing is also relevant to Chapters 5 and 6 of this thesis, which focus on the filmed representations of national events taking place in the capital city.

Jim McGuigan charts an 'ideological and discursive shift' that took place in Britain in the seventies, under Margaret Thatcher's Conservative leadership,[273] a 'shift from rhetorics of state intervention and public provision to rhetorics of market forces and consumer sovereignty'. [274] Through a process of privatisation and market liberation, the public sector was 'required increasingly to function pseudo-capitalistically', adopting a logic of market reasoning formerly performed by capitalist organisations. [275] According to McGuigan, the shift to managerialist rhetoric in cultural policy formed a departure from the focus on national prestige only a decade earlier. Adapting to an increasingly global market, publically funded exports became marketised as cultural commodities, a transition that saw British industries move from the public to the private, and the national to the global.

[273] Ibid., p. 62.
[274] Ibid., p. 53.
[275] Ibid., p. 63.

The ideological implication of this shift in rhetoric can be read in the concept of 'nation' as an 'imaginary construct', a make believe political community based on an imagined commonality with strangers.[276] Benedict Anderson describes nationality as a 'cultural artefact', the product of a culturally developed narrative.[277] The inherent link between nation and sovereignty in cultural imagination, particularly in British politics, can be associated with Eric Hobsbawm's notion of 'invented tradition', a constructed, symbolically operating set of practices, 'which seek to inculcate certain values and norms of behaviour by repetition, which automatically implies continuity with the past'.[278] This concept encompasses traditions 'formally instituted' into national life (such as the royal Christmas broadcast beginning in 1932), and traditions that have established themselves naturally into cultural consciousness, such as the behaviour and practices associated with the British Association Football Cup Final.[279] Through a process of repetition, invented tradition contradicts the 'constant change and innovation of the modern world', by attempting to structure selected elements of national life as invariant. By imposing fixed visions of the past into national, cultural consciousness, tradition, as a constructed practice vulnerable to the mediation of powerful organisations and national institutions, has an ideological function.

According to McGuigan, the 'market' is also an ideology as much as a practice, a fantasy and a window, or fairy tale mirror, with magical powers

---

[276] Ibid., p. 116.
[277] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities* (London; New York: Verso, 1983), p. 4.
[278] Eric Hobsbawm, 'Introduction: Inventing Traditions', in *The Invention of Tradition*, ed. by Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012) [first published 1983], p. 1.
[279] Ibid., p. 1.

through which we can view the world, 'an enabling and exclusionary discourse which shapes our sense of reality', [280] a vision ultimately shrouded in myth. As McGuigan writes, 'nostalgia for Britain's "greatness" forgets how miserable were the material conditions of most Britons at the height of empire'.[281] Fictional accounts of Britain's past select and manipulate carefully considered versions of national economic history and cultural heritage. This convergence between fact and fiction, reality and fantasy in tales of national history and the mythology of economic markets perpetuated through simplistic narratives and relentless repetition draw our attention to heritage narratives as forms of ideologically constructed fairy tales, or coded stories, designed to exploit the 'emotional force' of cultural storytelling. [282] Despite the questions surrounding the authenticity or truthful value in tales of national heritage, McGuigan identifies a need to 'understand their resilience'. [283] As demonstrated by the intertextual, continually perpetuating narratives running throughout each of the texts in this thesis across an eight-decade period, heritage narratives multiply and repeat themselves forcefully over a series of decades, contributing to a contemporary understanding of who we are.

According to McGuigan, the shifting topic of conversation from 'state' to 'market' in cultural policy works alongside the 'growing interconnectedness of the world capitalist economy'.[284] In an increasingly 'global culture' of communication networks and widely circulated information, transnational corporations usurp the power of the nation-state, challenging the autonomy of

[280] McGuigan, pp. 68 - 69.
[281] Ibid., p. 120.
[282] Ibid., p. 117.
[283] Ibid., p. 117.
[284] Ibid., p. 97.

national economy and culture.[285] At a point when the role of the nation-state appears to be limited in a much larger international marketplace, there is an additional discourse permeating cultural narratives surrounding the relationship between the citizen, and the market.

Cosmopolitanism

The rising discourse of cosmopolitanism emerged as both an ideal, and as an aspirational paradigm. The term 'cosmopolitanism' is used regularly across media, politics and journalism to reference subjects spanning 'urban culture, intellectual sophistication, fashion, art and international cuisine'. [286] This affordance of a 'cosmopolitan' lifestyle as part of the experience economy is attached to an idea of global cities. However, as cosmopolitanism studies has grown as an academic area in fields such as social sciences, anthropology, and humanities, the meaning of the term has been unpicked, questioned, challenged, and re-thought in a variety of contexts. As a result, cosmopolitanism is a paradoxical term with a range of definitions that include, thinking beyond the national, displacement and migration, openness, world citizenship, neoliberalism, and, for some, utopia. Contradictions lie in the paradoxes here between 'utopian visions', violence, and exploitation,[287] interconnectedness, crisis and war,[288] prompting questions on the 'social positioning and situations from which

[285] Ibid., p. 116.
[286] Andrew Irving, 'Chance, Contingency and Face-to-Face Encounter', in *Whose Cosmopolitanism? Critical Perspectives, Relationalities and Discontents,* ed. by Andrew Irving and Nina Glick Schiller (New York; Oxford: Berhahn Books, 2015), pp. 65-73 (p. 65).
[287] Jackie Stacey, 'Whose Cosmopolitanism? The Violence of Idealizations and the Ambivalence of Self', in *Whose Cosmopolitanism,* ed. by Andrew Irving, and Nina Glick Schiller, pp. 34-36 (p. 34).
[288] Andrew Irving and Nina Glick Schiller, 'Introduction: What's in a Word? What's in a Question?', in *Whose Cosmopolitanism,* ed. by Nina Glick Schiller and Andrew Irving, pp. 1-21 (p. 4).

cosmopolitans act and speak'.[289] I will here trace the debates concerning these definitions, by scholars such as Andrew Irving, Nina Glick Schiller, Jackie Stacey, Gyan Prakash, Gerard Delanty, Pheng Cheah, Ulrich Beck, and Jürgen Habermass. Within this discourse, I will also follow a notion of the cosmopolitan fashion capital, drawing on work by David Gilbert, Lise Skov, and Wim Wenders, to bring the discussion on cosmopolitanism into a dialogue with this thesis.

In their edited book, *Whose Cosmopolitanism?* (2015) Andrew Irving and Nina Glick Schiller map existing cosmopolitan scholarship before forming a critique in the suggestion of new approaches. In their introduction, they set out an often-cited definition of cosmopolitanism as a step 'beyond the boundaries of national thinking'; a shared worldview facilitated by global media and increased opportunities for travel and international mobility. [290] Lury, Franklin, and Stacey acknowledge the transformative effects of globalisation in their introduction to *Global Nature, Global Culture*, and its ability to shrink the world, hastening processes unhindered by 'national boundaries or […] geographical locatedness'.[291] For Irving, cosmopolitanism is premised on the notion that human life is valued for 'the existential fact of […] belonging to the human race' as opposed to a person's nationality or location.[292] This interpretation of cosmopolitanism suggests that there is a strata of citizenship that exists above the national, engendering the ability to 'act with and alongside others', in the interest

[289] Ibid.
[290] Irving and Schiller, 'Introduction: What's in a Word?', p. 2.
[291] Sarah Franklin, Celia Lury, and Jackie Stacey, *Global Nature, Global Culture* (London: SAGE, 2000), pp. 1-2.
[292] Irving, 'Chance, Contingency and Face-to-Face Encounter', pp. 66-67.

of (global) equal human rights. [293] How far this is a fantasy of dissolved national boundaries and the production of a space outside of this is open to debate.

In Nina Schiller's account of existing cosmopolitan criticism, she draws attention to an area of cosmopolitan thought that credits the 'experience of mobility' with producing 'cosmopolitan capabilities and outlooks' for all travellers, be they students, business associates, tourists, migrants, or refugees. [294] In this argument, travel opens the individual to the world, encouraging them to 'abandon[…] territory or rootedness'. [295] In a corresponding argument, and in contrast to Irving's contention that cosmopolitanism attempts to shape a non-national humanist discourse, Lise Skov credits the travelling discourse of creative industries and new fashion centers with rejuvenating national identity through a sense of open-ness to the world facilitated by mobility. [296] As a mobile industry, fashion here opens up possibilities for cosmopolitan transformation.

However, Schiller and Irving contest these views, arguing instead that 'cosmopolitanism does not inevitably accompany displacement', and is located within a Western perspective. As they observe, individuals displaced by war or underdevelopment often find limited opportunities for openness or equality in their experience of geographical movement. [297] According to Prakash, '[c]olonialism and empire, slavery and capitalist exploitation, the world wars and the Holocaust and other such in humanities' contradict claims of an inherent

---

[293] Ibid.
[294] Nina Glick Schiller, 'Diasporic Cosmopolitanism: Migrants, Sociabilities and City Making', in *Whose Cosmopolitanism,* ed. by Nina Glick Schiller and Andrew Irving, pp. 103-20 (p. 107).
[295] Irving and Schiller, 'Introduction: What's in a Word?', p. 2.
[296] Lise Skov, 'Dreams of a Small Nation in a Polycentric Fashion World', *Fashion Theory: The Journal of Dress, Body & Culture,* 15 (2011) 137-156, (p. 150).
[297] Irving and Schiller, 'Introduction: What's in a Word?', p. 3.

relationship between displacement, mobility, and cosmopolitanism. [298] Rather, notions of national transcendence are here described as 'elitist'. As he observes, the term 'cosmopolite' is much more frequently attached to wealthy travellers than to African slaves or migrant workers. [299] Jackie Stacey also notes the complexities of cosmopolitanism as a 'problematic Western vision' deploying the 'imperialist desire to "civilize"' those less powerful. [300]

In response to these contradictions and critiques, Prakash defines an alternative form of 'lived cosmopolitanism',[301] described by Irving and Schiller as one in which individuals experience 'partial, fleeting, uncertain and fragile domains of commonality', shared with others, where 'empathy, recognition and sociability' are possible. [302] This notion of openness to the value of difference presents a cosmopolitan perspective that draws together 'disparate, multiple pasts', acknowledging 'histories of imperialism, racialization and division', and celebrating diversity. [303] Jacqueline Rose here argues for a form of 'wounded cosmopolitanism', a 'nonredemptive', 'destabilizing' notion in which the West takes responsibility for the damage it has caused 'to the rest of the world'. [304] In this sense, cosmopolitanism appears less as a promotional term and more as an admission of past transgressions, with the hope for a better future.

---

[298] Gyan Prakash, 'Whose Cosmopolitanism? Multiple, Globally Enmeshed and Subaltern', in *Whose Cosmopolitanism,* ed. by Nina Glick Schiller and Andrew Irving, pp. 27-28 (p. 27).
[299] Ibid.
[300] Jackie Stacey, 'The Uneasy Cosmopolitans of *Code Unknown*', in *Whose Cosmopolitanism,* ed. by Nina Glick Schiller and Andrew Irving, pp. 160-74 (p. 162).
[301] Prakash, p. 27.
[302] Irving and Schiller, 'Introduction: What's in a Word?', p. 3.
[303] Nina Glick Schiller, 'Whose Cosmopolitanism? And Whose Humanity?', in *Whose Cosmopolitanism,* ed. by Nina Glick Schiller and Andrew Irving, pp. 31-33 (p. 32).
[304] Jacqueline Rose, 'Wounded Cosmopolitanism', in *Whose Cosmopolitanism,* ed. by Nina Glick Schiller and Andrew Irving, pp. 41-48 (p. 48).

However, according to Schiller, this celebration of difference remains implicated in the cosmopolitan traveller's 'unequal and superior power', to define what difference means, often in relation to the nation-state.[305] For Schiller, nationalism hence remains a critical component of cosmopolitan discourse. She argues, that this nationalistic approach to difference 'homogenises national cultures', defining those of other nationalities as both 'naturally', and 'uniformally different'. [306] Jackie Stacey also warns against the idealisation of cosmopolitanism as a projection of 'human goodness' that 'we may claim as our own'. Stacey argues that in celebrating difference, the cosmopolitan inadvertently others inhumanity as a vice that 'lies elsewhere and not in us'. A distinction is here established between the cosmopolitan self, and the 'intolerant […] prejudiced' other. [307]

A form of elitism is particularly endemic to a discourse on cosmopolitan cities, which foregrounds the two concepts of neoliberalism and consumption. Gyan Prakash positions cosmopolitan interests alongside the 'global movement of capital, commodities, people, ideas and images', a concept driven by a market economy of capitalist globalisation. [308] Global industries operate outside of national interests and often national regulations. Their presence as brands across cities helps to establish the identity of a place within a global network. Paradoxically then, as Skov argues, these mobile, global industries are promoted as elements of a city's cosmopolitan identity whilst simultaneously homogenising urban experience as uniform. Schiller writes of the way that urban

[305] Schiller, 'Whose Cosmopolitanism? And Whose Humanity?', p. 32.
[306] Ibid.
[307] Stacey, 'The Uneasy Cosmopolitans', p. 171.
[308] Prakash, p. 27.

planners and politicians characterise their cities as cosmopolitan as a promotional strategy to entice global talent and increase tourism, forging a discourse of 'openness' to facilitate global business. [309]

David Gilbert looks at the significance of local specificity to fashion in a global context, and the dangers posed to this idea by 'mall' and 'modem' cultures.[310] For Gilbert, the globalisation of fashion and city images has led to the homogenisation of cities, and the abstraction of retail space. However, Gilbert argues that despite these relatively recent developments in the de-urbanisation of fashion consumption, the physical urban city remains an integral factor in the success of the fashion industry. In looking at the role played by consumption sites and spaces in self-signification Gilbert states: 'for the individual consumer, the significance and meaning of a particular item are bound up with the process of shopping'.[311] This suggests that fashion is part of a ritual bound to the determinants of place. Fashion is about acquisition, but in the production of narratives connecting ideas of consumption with lifestyle and location. According to Gilbert, the city attributes meaning to an item of clothing. He writes 'the bags bearing precise geographical indicators of the experience of purchase may be more meaningful and prized trophies than the clothes themselves',[312] suggesting that the place in which a fashion item is purchased effects the desirability of that item. The significance of place in the ritual of fashion consumption is tied to the idea of a hierarchy of place, an ordering of

[309] Schiller, 'Diasporic Cosmopolitanism', p. 106.
[310] David Gilbert, 'Urban Outfitting: The City and the Spaces of Fashion Culture', in *Fashion Cultures: Theories, Explorations, and Analysis,* ed. by Stella Bruzzi and Pamela Church Gibson (London: Routledge, 2000), pp. 7-24 (p. 9).
[311] Ibid., p. 10.
[312] Ibid., p. 11.

global fashion capitals. Each year, Austin-based media-analytics company Global Language Monitor ranks cities according to a range of criteria.[313] The rankings are 'based on analysis on the internet, blogosphere, the top 250,000 print and electronic news media, as well as new social media sources including Twitter'.[314] The image of the global, or, often, cosmopolitan fashion capital is produced through and perpetuated by a range of media channels, to simultaneously increase revenues in export and tourism and promote particular sites. The production of a cosmopolitan city is then dependent on a network of media representations.

For Doreen Massey cosmopolitanism is inseparable from the concept of neoliberalism, an economic doctrine established during the economic boom of the eighties premised on 'the naturalness of market forces, the inevitability of individual self interest, […] [and a] negative attitude to state intervention'.[315] Commenting on the complexity of London's identity as a cosmopolitan city, she explains the contradictions between cosmopolitan ideals, neoliberalism, and city competition:

> As well as being so ethnically mixed, London is also a seat of power - political, institutional, economic, cultural. Its influences and its effects spread nationally and globally. It is a heartland of that socio-political economic formation that goes by the name of neoliberalism. [...] This city stands, then, as a crucial node in the production of what is an increasingly unequal world.[316]

[313] David Gilbert, 'A New World Order? Fashion and its Capitals in the Twenty-First Century', in *Fashion Cultures Revisited,* ed. by Stella Bruzzi and Pamela Church Gibson (London; New York: Routledge, 2013) [first published as *Fashion Cultures: Theories, Explorations and Analysis* in 2000], pp. 11-30 (p. 11).
[314] Ibid., p. 12.
[315] Doreen Massey, *World City* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2007).
[316] Ibid., p. 8.

Neoliberalism and the culture of city competition works against concepts of global equality. Following in this line of thought, it is evident that Western power structures and the unequal balance of global economies are disguised by the labeling of Western fashion capitals such as New York, Paris, and London as cosmopolitan. Stacey also criticises the marketability of a cosmopolitan city image in its capitalist exploitation of cultural diversity. She writes of how local products are 'taken up, relocated, refashioned and recycled by global consumer markets', by conglomerates looking to capitalise on the 'exportability of local difference'. [317]

In response to ideological contradictions between capitalist globalisation and cosmopolitan ideals of human equality, there has been an emergence of theorists who define cosmopolitanism as the aspirational imagining of a future world. According to Gerard Delanty, cosmopolitanism is a way of 'imagining the world', and imagining the self as a 'global citizen'. [318] As an imagined utopia, cosmopolitanism is here 'more than a condition of mobility or transnational movement'. Rather, it forms part of the 'social imaginary of the modern world', which aspires to democracy and global equality.[319] In this sense, the cosmopolitan ideal offers a critique of globalisation and its role in global inequality. As an aspiration, cosmopolitanism promotes the 'extension of moral and political horizons' for people of all societies and cultures.[320] Delanty here contests views that 'cosmopolitanism is simply a global ideology or an

[317] Jackie Stacey, 'The Global Within: Consuming Nature, Embodying Health', in *Global Nature, Global Culture,* ed. by Sarah Franklin, Celia Lury, and Jackie Stacey, pp. 97-145 (p. 3).
[318] Gerard Delanty, 'The Emerging Field of Cosmopolitanism Studies', in *Routledge Handbook of Cosmopolitanism Studies,* ed. by Gerard Delanty (New York: Routledge, 2012), pp. 1-8 (pp. 3-4).
[319] Ibid.
[320] Ibid., p. 2.

embracing of the world of the mobile global elite',[321] arguing that the cosmopolitan aspiration is rooted within real communities.[322]

In a chapter titled 'What is a World?', Pheng Cheah argues for the importance of narrative to positively facilitate the cosmopolitan imagination. Cheah writes of world literature as an important aspect of cosmopolitanism, 'a type of world-making activity that enables us to imagine a world'.[323] For Cheah, the imaginative cosmopolitan process involves three stages: the rejection of one's 'particularistic' identification with the world, the imagining of a universal community, and the positioning of the self as a mere member of this 'imagined world'.[324] According to Cheah, literature facilitates the 'opening through which one receives a world and through which another world can appear',[325] presenting the world as 'an ongoing, dynamic process of becoming […] rather than a spatial-geographical entity'.[326] This literary openness allows for reflection and criticism of 'political and economic forces',[327] 'commercial intercourse', and 'global capital',[328] that contradict idealised notions of world citizenship.

Ulrich Beck acknowledges this view on cosmopolitanism as 'in the end just a beautiful idea'.[329] However, he argues that, beyond 'the realm of philosophical castles in the air', cosmopolitanism has itself become part of the

---

[321] Ibid.
[322] Ibid.
[323] Pheng Cheah, 'What is a World? On World Literature as a World-Making Activity', [first published in 2008] in *Routledge Handbook of Cosmopolitanism Studies,* pp. 138-49 (p. 138).
[324] Ibid.
[325] Ibid., p. 145.
[326] Ibid., p. 141.
[327] Ibid.
[328] Ibid.
[329] Ulrich Beck, *The Cosmopolitan Vision* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2006), trans. by. Ciaran Cronin, [first published in German in 2004] p. 1.

contemporary landscape, a form of cosmopolitan realism nurtured by political globalisation, which informs the way we live and behave.[330] He writes,

> In a world of global crises and dangers produced by civilization, the old differentiations between internal and external, national and international, us and them, lose their validity and a new cosmopolitan realism becomes essential to survive.[331]

According to Beck, national outlooks (presented in patriotic propaganda) oppose this development by ignoring the increasingly interrelated nature of global politics, economics, and culture, and defining its values based on the interests of the nation-state. In contrast, cosmopolitanism for Beck has both positive and negative potential. Driven by social resistance to the negative effects of globalisation, Beck outlines a developing 'cosmopolitan outlook', which represents an increasing sense of global identification, a boundaryless vision that is both cause for celebration and concern.

Beck defines this outlook in five key principles. The first of these principles relates to '*the experience of crisis in world society*', where global risks overcome previously established geographical and ideological boundaries.[332] He describes the expanding notion of a 'world risk society', in which 'culturally produced, interdependent insecurities and dangers, and the resulting dominance of the public perception of risk as staged by the mass media', exist at the same time as the same media corporations are ironically celebrating cosmopolitanism

[330] Ibid., p. 2.
[331] Ibid., p. 14.
[332] Ibid., p. 7. Emphasis as in original.

as a form of place promotion.[333] The notion of global risk engenders in cultures 'an unavoidable pressure to cooperate',[334] encouraging a notion of global citizenship and a shared cosmopolitan history of communal experiences and international concerns, that contradict and expose isolated tales of national identity and national history as overly simplistic, insufficient narratives.

The second principle refers to the '*recognition of cosmopolitan differences*' and the acknowledged conflicting identities between people of varying cultures.[335] This is followed by '*cosmopolitan empathy*' and *'perspective-taking*', in the view of interchangeable situations between seemingly disparate societies (seen as both an opportunity and a threat).[336] The fourth principle Beck outlines is the '*impossibility of living in a world society*' in the absence of borders, a principle that informs the continuing tendency to reinforce national lines.[337] In the final principle, Beck highlights the paradoxical values at the heart of this cosmopolitan vision, observing that, despite consistent attempts at border definition, 'local, national, ethnic, religious *and* cosmopolitan cultures and traditions interpenetrate, interconnect and intermingle'.[338] The national cannot exist without the cosmopolitan and vice versa; or, as Beck clearly articulates, 'cosmopolitanism without provincialism is empty, provincialism without cosmopolitanism is blind'.[339] National empathy is interconnected with cosmopolitan empathy, in that they each inform and influence the other.[340]

---

[333] Ibid., p. 22.
[334] Ibid., p. 23.
[335] Ibid., p. 7. Emphasis as in original.
[336] Ibid. Emphasis as in original.
[337] Ibid. Emphasis as in original.
[338] Ibid., p. 7. Emphasis as in original.
[339] Ibid., p. 7.
[340] Ibid., p. 6.

According to Beck, globalisation is a concept locked in to 'the power of the autonomous nation-state' and its neoliberal economic growth in the global market, whilst cosmopolitanism refers to the 'multidimensional process' which undermines the influence or importance of individual states. Reframing our perspective on the world as a 'playground of universal experiences',[341] it stands for a vision of cosmopolitan globalism that wishes to usurp neoliberal globalism, in the campaign for global human rights, and worldwide environmental concerns. In this discussion, Beck identifies a growing institutionalisation of cosmopolitanism as an anti-globalisation movement, influenced by the International Court of Justice and the United Nations.[342] In this sense, cosmopolitanism is not a term interchangeable with globalisation.

To examine the different ways in which the cosmopolitan vision infiltrates cultural, political, and economic life, Beck introduces the term 'cosmopolitanization', to examine the notion of a 'deformed', passive, unconscious cosmopolitanism that is naturally absorbed through the side effects of globalisation (such as taste in a certain food or music that originates from another part of the world). In this latent form of cosmopolitanism, cosmopolitanization 'sharpens our gaze for uncontrollable events that merely befall us',[343] a contrasting principle to Kant's original concept of cosmopolitanism as an active force driving us to impose order on the world (discussed in Chapter 6). Beck counters the image of passive cosmopolitanization with his vision of an active cosmopolitan outlook, which

[341] Ibid., p. 10.
[342] Ibid., p. 9.
[343] Ibid., p. 20.

represents a form of cosmopolitanism based on the aim to contribute and partake in the establishment of a new cosmopolitan world culture.[344] He writes,

> The (forced) mixing of cultures is not anything new in world history but, on the contrary, the rule […]. From the very beginning, the emerging global market required the mixing of peoples and imposed it by force if necessary […]. What is new is not forced mixing but awareness of it, its self-conscious political affirmation, its reflection and recognition before a global public via the mass media.[345]

Beck argues in favour of this new cosmopolitan outlook in his analysis of cosmopolitan vision.

There are parallels in Beck's writing with the work of Jürgen Habermas, a scholar concerned with the processes of transition and social modernisation that have historically led to greater political integration in Europe, and across the world. Like Beck, Habermas recognises the need for a reaction against globalisation, which shifts the focus of power from the classical international order of sovereign nation-states to a post-national, or transnational political system, a cosmopolitan association of world citizens with a goal towards social solidarity and the alleviation of global injustice and inequality. According to Habermas, the institutionalisation of global legal procedures would work to 'preserve the judicial processing of human rights violations against a moral differentiation of law and prevent an *unmediated* moral stigmatization of "enemies"'.[346] Owing to the inherent difficulties of undermining a global system of neoliberal markets, and the as yet 'weakly institutionalised' global state of

[344] Ibid., p. 21.
[345] Ibid., p. 21.
[346] Jürgen Habermas, *Time of Transitions* (Cambridge; Malden, MA: Polity Press, 2006), ed. and trans. by Ciaran Cronin and Max Pensky [first published in German in 2001], p. 26. Emphasis as in original.

human rights, Habermas argues that 'such a politics is in many respects compelled to become a mere *anticipation* of the future cosmopolitan condition which it simultaneously seeks to realize', bringing us back to the notion of cosmopolitanism as an aspirational value of the future.[347] As he writes, the transition to a truly cosmopolitan world order requires more than the logic of economic forces; it requires the commitment and driving force of democratic world citizens to usurp the forces of market-driven globalisation, and to re-define the global line between morality and law, through a learning process that is, and can only be, 'mastered collectively'.[348]

As a non-literary facilitator for cosmopolitan imaginations, Maria Rovisco explores a similarly positive concept of cosmopolitan cinema, as a 'cross-cultural practice'. [349] She observes the opportunity for fiction film to provide a 'discursive ethical space' for 'a range of interlocuters - film audiences, filmmakers, creative personnel and critics' to share their perspectives and experiences of living in the world, and to forge a 'shared understanding' of human life. [350] Acknowledging the input of creative personnel from across the world in large-scale film production, Rovisco puts forward the idea that the film industry is implicitly international. She also notes cinema's potential to represent the stories of those 'whose access to cultural dialogue is severely limited', giving voice to marginalised others. [351] Jackie Stacey agrees with this notion, writing of cinema's ability to offer 'new modes of modern imaginative mobility to its

[347] Ibid., p. 27. Emphasis as in original.
[348] Ibid., p. 30.
[349] Maria Rovisco, 'Towards a Cosmopolitan Cinema: Understanding the Connection Between Borders, Mobility and Cosmopolitanism in the Fiction Film', *Mobilities,* 8 (2013), 148-65 (p. 149).
[350] Ibid., p. 153.
[351] Ibid., p. 149.

audiences' through the narratives played out on screen. [352] Here, film offers a range of opportunities to rehearse multiple identities through identification with a diverse range of characters.

Wim Wenders' 1989 film essay *Notebook on Cities and Clothes* helps to determine how cosmopolitanism has been perceived in a cultural arena. Although this is a predominantly theoretical debate, Wenders' film locates cosmopolitanism in a complex way that is important to consider in the discussion of London in this thesis as a fashion capital on screen. In this film, Wenders speaks of a 'world of fashion'.[353] Here, Wenders looks at the relationship between fashion and cities, and promotes a cosmopolitan idea of world citizenship among city dwellers. He narrates in voice-over,

> We live in the cities. The cities live in us […] time passes. We move from one city to another, from one country to another. We change languages, we change habits, we change opinions, we change clothes, we change everything. Everything changes. And fast.[354]

Wenders describes a postmodern fluid interchangeability of city spaces, ignoring the global hierarchy of fashion capitals, or perhaps articulating an idealism that arose with postmodernism but became absorbed into a global commercialism. Fashion and the city, for Wenders, are both linked with change and transformation, but here the city is not specific. Wenders connects the ideal vision of a cosmopolitan urban space with fashion, mobility, and openness to new ideas. However, Wenders' presentation of world citizenship and interchangeable cities is not consistent through the whole of the film's narrative.

---

[352] Stacey, 'The Uneasy Cosmopolitans', p. 162.
[353] *Notebook on Cities and Clothes*, dir. by Wim Wenders (Centre Pompidou, 1989).
[354] Ibid.

Early in the film we see shots of Paris, with the Eiffel Tower in the background. Sitting in the foreground of this image, Tokyo fashion designer Yohji Yamamoto is asked about his favourite cities. He responds 'I like all big cities'. Despite the cosmopolitan sounding universality of this answer, Yamamoto is framed by the image of Paris. He goes on to specify, 'Paris and Tokyo'. Despite setting out initial ideals of world citizenship, Wenders' film remains tied to a neoliberal ranking of fashion capitals.

Wenders' film also connects a discussion of fashion capitals with a discussion of fashion nations and experiences of nationality. In conversation, Yamamoto says, 'I was born in Tokyo and I feel I'm more of a Tokyoite than Japanese […] But when I came to Paris I realised, and I was pushed to realise, that I'm Japanese'.[355] Yamamoto's cosmopolitan identity changes in relation to geographical context. Yamamoto describes identity as a nuanced, place-dependent concept that is tied into a sense of style, and the way in which one is perceived by others. In Japan, Yamamoto may be identifiable as a Tokyoite. In Paris, his identifying feature becomes his nationality. Neither is fixed. In this sense, Wenders' film presents a notion that cosmopolitan identity is based on subjective perception, open to the interpretation of the beholder.

Pam Cook conducts a discussion of Britain and film in relation to cosmopolitanism in her analysis of period costume drama, addressing the rooting of both nationalism and cosmopolitanism in cinema. Cook discusses concerns that the loss of national culture is creating a loss of authenticity, where

[355] Ibid.

'adulterated cosmopolitan culture' derives mainly from the USA. [356] Cook links these concerns with 'nostalgia for a lost past'. [357] Speaking specifically of forties British film, she looks at the 'desire to find a "home", an imagined place where unified, stable identities […] can flourish'.[358] Like the cosmopolitan place, 'home' can here only exist in stories. In *On Living In An Old Country* (1985), Patrick Wright postulates that this concept of 'home' presents the 'Imaginary Briton', the merging of 'all social consciousness […] in the unitary symbolism of a publically vaunted national identity'.[359] Wright here speaks of the presented image of nation, told through the frequent repetition of national icons. He writes of 'the sense of history, tradition and cultural identity which plays such an influential part in the British national imagination', as cultural manipulation that really belongs 'to the airport arrival hall'.[360] As a story focused on how Britain looks to those outside, national identity is, according to Wright, a construct of appearance; an attractive illusion, like the capitalist promotion of cosmopolitan image.

Challenging the concept of national identity in a similar way to Wright, Cook argues that such a thing cannot exist because it is constantly in flux.[361] Cook also highlights the contradiction between nation and individuality: 'Nationalisms which depend on a retreat to cultural purity, to unchanging ethnic identities and boundaries, appear to be a manifestation of cultural crisis, a last

[356] Cook, p. 1.
[357] Ibid.
[358] Ibid., p. 2.
[359] Patrick Wright, p. 3.
[360] Ibid., pp. 3-5.
[361] Cook, p. 2.

refuge from social change'.[362] At any one period in British history, a public of varying experiences, histories, personalities, and ethnicities defy the idea of a nationally shared identity. Appealing to a cosmopolitan framework, Cook looks at the way film 'opens the way to border crossings' and allows us to 'imagine ourselves world citizens'.[363] In this sense, cosmopolitanism and nation are both fictions of the 'world of fashion', exposed through Cook's analysis of fashion in film.

According to Schiller, cosmopolitan notions of world citizenship are contradicted by the lack of a common world government. For this reason, identification as a citizen of the world presents either 'delusion, or hope for a different world'. [364] Furthermore, if the aspiration for world citizenship is based on a desire for something different, the question remains as to whether this aspiration is based on 'imperial or utopian' values. [365] Irving and Schiller write, 'The term "cosmopolitan" is routinely used both as a description of the contemporary world and an argument for transforming it into a better one'.[366] The underlying assumption throughout much of the criticism agrees that in its ideal form, the cosmopolitan offers something better than the national or the global, in its human centred aspirations. However, there is a dialogue in cosmopolitan scholarship, concerning whether the notion of cosmopolitanism applies to the real, or the imaginary world. Indeed, as a paradoxical term, the cosmopolitan ideal, or aspiration, contradicts real world weaknesses, setting up dualities between human equality and social injustice, commonality and greed,

[362] Ibid.
[363] Cook, p. 4.
[364] Schiller,'Whose Cosmopolitanism? And Whose Humanity?', p. 31.
[365] Ibid.
[366] Irving and Schiller, 'Introduction: What's in a Word?', p. 2.

cultural diversity and cultural exploitation. In this sense, cosmopolitanism in its truest form could be said to represent a form of fairy tale utopia, a placeless, timeless fantasy that, though untenable in the conditions of our contemporary world, can facilitate projected hopes for a 'better' tomorrow.

A New Genre

The cosmopolitan desire for something different, something better, works alongside the fairy tale's trajectory of transformation. The texts explored in this thesis, both historical and contemporary, can be placed alongside fairy tales as tools designed to help citizens make sense of society and their place within it. Through a replication of narrative structures and iconographic repetition, they present characteristics as components that can be transferred from one text to another. However, rather than ironic forms of parody like those discussed by Joosen, intertextual references throughout this genre represent, rather than deconstruct, the status quo.

Through tales of fashion's enabling, magical qualities, the non-fiction British fashion film facilitates the imagination, drawing on wish fulfillment fantasies and transformation narratives that promise audiences a happy ending. In fairy tales, transformation is often tied to dress. Bruno Bettelheim writes, 'While fairy tales invariably point the way to a better future, they concentrate on the process of change, rather than describing the exact details of the bliss eventually to be gained'.[367] In fairy tales, this moment of change is often presented through

[367] Bettelheim, p. 73.

a change of clothing, visualised in Disney's filmic adaptations. As Zipes writes, 'Perhaps the most popular text or icon today is that of Disney's *Cinderella*, which continues to float throughout the world in various viral forms'.[368] In one of the most famous examples of fairy tale transformation, Cinderella transforms from a servant into a princess by putting on a ball gown.[369]

The perception of fairy tales as narratives about women told for and by women can be partly accredited to the relationship between fairy tales and fashion. Archetypal fairy tale characters are often tradespeople who work with clothes such as tailors, shoemakers, and spinners. Marina Warner draws a connection between writers, tailors, and dressmakers:

> Spinning a tale, weaving a plot: The metaphors illuminate the relation; while the structure of fairy stories, with their repetitions, reprises, elaboration and minutiae, replicates the thread and fabric of one of women's principle labours – the making of textiles from the wool or the flax to the finished bolt of cloth.[370]

Warner is linking the process of fashion production with the process of fairy tale narrative, and storytelling. Oral folk tales have a history, handed down from generation to generation, like the skills of *Make Do and Mend* (discussed in Chapter 3).

We see in these texts an increasing move away from abstract domestic settings, to the specific location of London, a utopian city with a growing cosmopolitan identity. Standardised images of Britain's capital city are

---

[368] Zipes, *Why Fairy Tales Stick*, p. 116.
[369] *Cinderella*, dir by. Wilfred Jackson, Clyde Geronimi, and Hamilton Luske (Walt Disney, 1950).
[370] Marina Warner,'The Old Wives' Tale', p. 315.

perpetuated across media in a re-enactment of Disney's uniform animations, directing the imagination towards a 'nonreflective viewing' experience that presents a one-dimensional character of utopian London.[371] This is achieved through the replication of London iconography, where icons such as the Union Jack, Big Ben, and Buckingham Palace act as recognisable signifiers, like the red hooded cloak, grandmother, and wolf, of 'Little Red Riding Hood'. As with fairy tales, images and ideas of London as a fashion capital become incorporated into cultural consciousness and mythicised in cultural discourse, 'as natural stories, as second nature'.[372] Set in London at particular moments in time, these films are 'historically determined' texts, cultural records that speak 'volumes about the society and historical time' in which they were made, corresponding with Smith's argument for the significance of fairy tale narratives to our understanding of specific times and places in history.[373]

In the texts studied in this thesis, the narrative voice of London's presentation as a fashion capital often has a political affiliation to the state. Like fairy tales, each of these texts partakes in official storytelling, institutionalised in political discourse as part of a civilising process, and embedded in a culture of didacticism, warning and advice. As in fairy tales, the address of these films is 'direct, clear, patriarchal, and one-dimensional in its narrative perspective'.[374] Narrative structures perpetuate dominant codes aimed at a predominantly female audience, often with a romantic climax, and suggestion of marriage. Concepts of national, personal, and global identity are frequently simplified, with polarised

[371] Zipes, 'Breaking the Disney Spell', p. 352.
[372] Zipes, *Why Fairy Tales Stick*, p. 1.
[373] Smith, p. 165.
[374] Jack Zipes, *Fairy Tales and the Art of Subversion*, p. 8.

dualisms between austerity and consumption, masculinity and femininity, war and peace, compliance and rebellion, home and abroad. Traditionally considered a 'frivolous' topic of academic concern,[375] exploration of these particular films illustrates the state's longstanding investment in British fashion, and its significant role in gendered, political, and economic strategy. Shifts in female identity are navigated through narratives of dress and fashion transformation in the same way as shifts in national identity. Women's identities shift alongside national shifts, tying women to the concept of nation throughout the texts.

Offering both 'imaginary stories' and 'content that supposedly corresponds to a factual reality', these texts also complicate notions of fiction and non-fiction media forms.[376] As Bettelheim argues, the mixing of realistic elements (such as a specific London location), with wish fulfillment and elements of fantasy, 'confuse the child as to what is real and what is not'. [377] Unlike Joosen's description of non-fiction, the invented elements in state-supported promotional fashion media are not always so clearly distinguished from the rest of the text. As this thesis will show, traces of the fairy tale genre can be found throughout the non-fiction British fashion film, which itself spreads contagiously throughout a mass of media texts. One could argue, that it is in fact the fairy tale elements to these texts, of repetition and endless retellings, familiarity and reassurance, that afford the continued reproduction of their stories in contemporary media. The relationship between fashion and fiction is not a new one. At the 2014 conference *Fashion in Fiction: Style Stories and Transglobal Narratives* held at City University Hong Kong, Professor Efrat Tseelon opened up the discussion in a keynote paper revisiting the tale of 'The

[375] Street, *Costume and Cinema*, p. 1.
[376] Joosen, p. 29.
[377] Bettelheim, p. 64.

Emperor's New Clothes'.[378] Through analysis of this fairy tale, Tseelon highlighted the traditional relationship between fashion and fiction, speaking of the way the emperor in this story 'becomes implicated in the web of fiction' constructed through the manipulation of fashion.[379] In this paper, Tseelon posed the question 'do objects exist outside language or consciousness?' challenging whether it is even possible for fashion to exist without the language of stories.[380] In four case studies, this thesis analyses the stories, myths and ideals perpetuated throughout a range of non-fiction, state-supported media forms that privilege the subject of fashion. Drawing on the relationship between fashion and fairy tale, this thesis asks, what is the form and function of the non-fiction British fashion film? How does it work? What discourses does it mobilise? How does it change, and what does it try to do?

As a term, 'Fashion Film' is ubiquitous in academic discourse, and yet there is little consensus as to what it means. Contemporary critics often use the term to refer specifically to the online digital shorts commissioned by fashion houses. However, generic crossovers and blurred boundaries between Hollywood feature film, British costume drama, fashion documentary, and online promotional shorts complicate use of the term, confusing the borders between 'fashion in film', and 'fashion film' criticism. In this thesis, I observe a further category of film and media text that foregrounds fashion as a visual, political, and economic focus of production, which so far remains unacknowledged in either category. When examined, this collection of screen media texts draws

[378] Professor Efrat Tseelon, '"The Emperor's New Clothes Revisited": on Fashion Narratives, Illusion and Masquerade', in *Fashion in Fiction: Style Stories and Transglobal Narratives* conference (City University Hong Kong, 2014).
[379] Ibid.
[380] Ibid.

many parallels with those already discussed. As state-supported texts, they fit into narratives of official film production in the post-war period, examined by film historians Pam Cook and Sarah Street, feminist film historian Sue Harper, and cultural studies scholar Jackie Stacey, who has conducted work on ethnography. Although classed as non-fiction, they also adhere to fairy tale transformation narratives, like those discussed in Hollywood feature films by film scholars Tamar Jeffers McDonald and Rachel Moseley. However, whilst these critics examine similarities of content between particular films and specific fairy tale narratives, this thesis identifies a generic relationship between non-fiction British fashion film, and the formulaic traditions of the fairy tale genre.

There are certain 'non-fiction' texts that have already been included in fashion film discussion, such as fashion documentaries, and online digital shorts. However, owing to a range of generic differences, they do not allow for the texts studied in this thesis. Discussions of 'non-narrative' digital films exclude the narratives of information films and television broadcasts. Documentary is also defined as a medium to critique the fashion system. This fails to allow for the storytelling of non-fiction state-supported fashion films that represent, rather than deconstruct, the storytelling of institutional fashion promotion.

In his criticism of traditional film genre scholarship, Rick Altman asks, 'How is it that some structures fail to achieve generic recognition? What changes are required for others to be constituted as genres?[381] In this case, it appears that a re-evaluation is required into the relationship between varying types of fashion

[381] Altman, p. 50.

media on screen, and a combined analysis of a platforms that acknowledges the complexity of fiction and non-fiction classifications. By drawing attention to a particular group of underexplored filmic media texts, I follow Altman's argument that 'newly created genres must be drawn on the same mental sketch pad that holds the previous map'.[382] Owing to the many generic crossovers with texts already included in academic discussions of fashion film, it is necessary to consider this collection of texts within the same conversation. At the same time, as British state-supported fashion materials classed as non-fiction, they also pertain to their own generic category, termed here as non-fiction British fashion film. This classification sits alongside costume melodramas, Hollywood features with fashion focused narratives, promotional shorts, and fashion documentaries, as a particular collection of films included within an overarching discussion of fashion film.

In *Why Fairy Tales Stick* Jack Zipes writes, 'the literary fairy tale produced as book, hypertext for the Internet, advertisement for commodities, script for film, radio, and television, comic, cartoon, and cultural artifact has grown in relevance'.[383] As a genre that is becoming more and more widespread with an increasing availability of multi-media platforms, the same can be said for fashion film. The calls of Warner and Church Gibson in the *Film, Fashion & Consumption* journal have been influential in broadening the discussion of fashion film, and their calls have to some extent been answered by new focuses on online, digital media in later issues of the same journal. However, whilst they look forward to emerging definitions of fashion film in the online market, they

[382] Ibid., p. 69.
[383] Zipes, *Why Fairy Tales Stick*, p. 93.

do not acknowledge the need to look back beyond the boundaries of current fashion film criticism, to where fashion film originated. Marketa Uhlirova opens this dialogue in her contextualisation of fashion film as a legacy of fashion photography. She looks at the history of fashion films over the last one hundred years, focusing on the aesthetics of movement in the films and tracing this back to the tradition of fashion photography. The texts I am looking at here tell a different history, of fashion screen media as a form of cultural production, created by official institutions to reinforce national ideologies through the production of accessible, aspirational stories. Analysing the perpetual repetition and reproduction of cultural narratives through an intertextual range of non-fiction media texts, this thesis testifies to the notion of fashion film as a form of institutionalised discourse, representing the state's continued involvement in cinematic entertainment, screen media, and popular culture.

Similarly, whilst debate about heritage film has currently circulated around period costume dramas and feature films, Higson describes the term as a 'loose, leaky, [and] hybrid' category that should draw on a range of influences and build on an 'eccentric range of sources'.[384] As he argues, 'each cycle or genre emerges as it evolves, constructing its own terms of reference, its own intertexts […]. Genre study needs to be flexible, and to recognize that boundaries are artificial, discursive constructs'.[385] As Claire Monk observes, the term 'heritage film' was initially used by British film historian Charles Barr in 1986 to describe state-sponsored propaganda films of the forties.[386] Whilst his use of the

[384] Higson, p. 10.
[385] Ibid., pp. 10-11.
[386] Monk, p. 11.

term was, according to Monk, 'more descriptive than denunciatory',[387] and referenced a different type of film than those debated by heritage scholars, the mirroring of language opens further avenue for debate surrounding the definition of a 'heritage film', with specific reference to the state-supported texts explored in this thesis.

Vidal also calls for a broadening of the heritage film debate to 'become more adventurous' in its discussion of cultural icons, extending debate on painting and literature into discussion on a wider range of more 'popular historical iconography' perpetuated through 'fashion, popular music and television'. [388] Whilst the texts selected for discussion in this thesis do not fit neatly into current definitions of heritage film, my research makes a claim for fashion, in non-fiction British media texts of the last century, as itself providing a heritage narrative promoted by official culture. The institutionally validated promotion of fashion as a key element of Britain's heritage industry works alongside critical notions of heritage as a form of historical fantasy, a dressing up of the national past in support of a dominant state agenda. It also provides support for Vidal's assertion that heritage criticism should extend to a discussion of cultural icons and popular historical iconography perpetuated through fashion, music, and screen media. In a debate that is economically, culturally, and politically grounded, this thesis extends the discussion of heritage film away from period costume dramas to explore the role of non-fiction screen media, privileging the subject of fashion as a narrative device for official tales of national heritage to be sold at home and abroad. Whilst supporting Samuel's

[387] Ibid., p. 11
[388] Vidal, p. 4.

argument for the urban appropriation of heritage, this thesis also forms a departure from his critique, arguing that, in addition to the individual appropriation of the past as a popular cultural practice that Samuel describes, there is also a clear, and potent institutional agenda operating at the heart of these texts.

As demonstrated in this thesis, contemporary non-fiction British fashion media shows how today's fashions have been inspired and influenced by the past. They also demonstrate the way contemporary fashion media has been influenced by post-war filmmaking. Following Wright's perception of the past invading the present, these films follow a process parallel to that of the fashion industry, repurposing and recycling past stories and cultural iconography for future audiences, presenting a vision of national identity based on a constructed notion of tradition. In its exploration of state-supported fashion narratives, this thesis extends the argument for history as an institutionally validated discourse, approaching the texts in question as products of state-supported objectives and agendas.

This thesis also contributes to the debates about women in heritage films. As discussed, Vidal identifies the role of period film in privileging a female gaze, and its propensity for focusing on characters traditionally marginalised in mainstream cinema. Hill also criticises the heritage debate's assumption of an essentialist femininity in which women's main interests revolve around clothes and appearance. However, the lack of critical engagement on the role of women that Hill condemns in the heritage debate is pertinent to the depiction of women

in the non-fiction British fashion film, which speaks to women, from the standpoint of a male voiceover. Whilst women are seemingly at the centre of these films, the agenda is often male, and authoritarian. The films focus on advising women about how best to navigate a range of economic shifts in national life, with clear and practical advice on how they should behave. This advice is grounded on a notion of femininity based on interest in clothes and appearance. The government works under this assumption to engage female citizens on a level they think will understand, spreading messages of national propaganda through instructional videos on how to style their hair. Women continue to be stereotyped and denigrated throughout these films, which attempt to control their behaviour through appearing to celebrate female strength, resourcefulness, and liberation. Yet, when looked at closely, the seeming promotion of female independence and capability paradoxically attempts to place women under state control, and persuade them to fall in line. In dictating women's roles in national affairs, these texts are working to tie women into a national agenda, whilst appearing to celebrate their freedom. Though it may be argued that these texts are forward looking by focusing on female characters traditionally marginalised in mainstream cinema, these films are not attempting to subvert stereotype, but to mainstream, and control, the marginal. In this way, analysis of the non-fiction British fashion film contributes to the debate on how women have been framed by promotional discourses, depicting the official deployment of gender to support national aims.

In a feminist reading on the cultural value of heritage film, Julianne Pidduck considers how female identity is represented through costume in

heritage cinema. According to Pidduck, heritage films present visions of women's contemporary identities and roles in society 'refracted through the distant yet familiar, imagined and changing past'.[389] Examining the coded gendered and generic discourse inscribed on to the female body through dress in a process of 'transformation, power and difference' in heritage cinema,[390] Pidduck evaluates the way costume and heritage fiction encourage women to negotiate contemporary dilemmas 'through the prism of the past'.[391] The presentation of a young Queen Elizabeth I, for instance, can be seen to confront 'liberal feminist dilemmas' such as 'How do women negotiate the conflicting pressures of social decorum, sexual desire and power?'.[392] Pidduck speaks specifically here about costume, a particular form of dress that 'suggests the pleasures and possibilities of masquerade – the construction, constraint and display of the body through clothes'.[393]According to Pidduck, the opportunity for masquerade that 'retrospectively explores Western subjectivity through the characters of the nineteenth century novel', affords costume a particular role in heritage film, as a form 'inextricable from historical discourses of the self',[394] a make-believe reconstruction of historical style. As information texts classed as non-fiction media, the texts studied in this thesis have a different relationship with dress, implicated in a system of fashion rather than costume. Although the texts occasionally present scenes of living models dressing up in historical clothing, the clothes presented on screen predominantly represent fashions

[389] Julianne Pidduck, 'The Body as Gendered Discourse in British and French Costume and Heritage Fictions', *Cinémas: revue d'études cinématographiques / Cinémas: Journal of Film Studies*, 2-3, 22, (2012), 101-125, (p. 103).
[390] Ibid., p. 123.
[391] Ibid., p. 103.
[392] Ibid., p. 109.
[393] Julianne Pidduck, *Contemporary Costume Film* (London: BFI, 2004), p. 4.
[394] Ibid.

contemporary to the film's production, promoted as part of national economic strategy as items of clothing available to purchase. Also unlike the films analysed by Pidduck, the texts studied in this thesis do not offer help for the future in feminist terms. However, they do encourage contemporary female viewers to identify with historical visions of national womanhood, through a gendered discourse situated in a tale of what to wear.

As this thesis argues, the mythologies and ideals propagated through past media texts underpin current ideologies, reinforced through intertextual references and the perpetuating world of cultural forms. In this sense, informational media of the mid-twentieth century represent their own form of heritage film in the new millennium, recontextualised and replayed on television, in museum exhibitions, and on DVD compilations. Comparing the film and television broadcasts made in each period requires me to look back at history from the present day. Focusing on the continuity of ideological approach in a selection of state-supported texts made across eight decades, I look at the way contemporary media forms celebrate an idea of national heritage based on a story of fashion, and the prominent role it has played in national life since the forties, fifties, and sixties. Vidal discusses the continued simplification of 'national history into retro-styles and tourist kitsch', [395] with the image of 'retro-tourism' well describing the continued glamorisation of the fifties and 'Swinging Sixties' in contemporary culture, with images of the Union Jack, miniskirts, and red telephone boxes contributing to the overarching construction of a 'unitary symbolism', an officially prescribed 'publically vaunted' image based on the

[395] Ibid., p. 16.

circulation of official stories about British fashion history 'in the service of nation'.[396] As Wright argues, it is important to approach these nationally regulated stories within the context of cultural export strategy, carefully designed promotional constructs not to be confused with 'histiographic truth', or 'the way it really was'.[397] Whilst drawing on the cultural capital of Britain's fashion heritage depicted in films made eighty years previous, today's media is simultaneously attempting to build on, and extend this narrative of Britain's heritage for future audiences, in the commercial exploitation of nostalgia. As Sinfield argues, the strength of cultural narratives is reinforced through repetition in a range of media forms. As we can see in these texts, present day values produce and prism views of the past, reinforcing historical narratives through endless replication in the support of current national agendas.

Focusing on the moving image and voiceover narrations, this thesis is concerned with how the texts work to create aspirational ideals and models. My analysis combines a visual account of what we can see on screen, with a conceptual reflection on the stories, myths, and ideals being promoted. These non-fiction state-supported British film and television texts use fashion's aspirational qualities to promote ideals of how female audiences should (want to) behave in their everyday lives, to achieve the status of, for instance, perfect bride, ideal wartime wife, exemplary working girl, and later, utopian cosmopolite. This research processes the way in which state-supported cultural myths are mobilised using fashion on screen.

[396] Patrick Wright, pp. 3 and 25.
[397] Ibid., p. 26.

2

Storytelling Through the Archives

In researching this thesis, it has been necessary to address a range of methodological questions arising from the difficulties of historiography and selection inherent in the process of archival research based on state-supported texts. Given the archive's tendency to manipulate and rewrite histories, how does one undertake a comprehensive analysis of material that is owned, and regulated by official bodies and national institutions? Acknowledging the nature of the archive as an authoritative structure, one has to consider the notion that the documents they hold have been officially constructed. How does one approach the historical value of texts where the version of history being presented has been carefully chosen to achieve certain ends? How does one draw an accurate picture from archival documents that, by their nature, offer only hints, clues, and suggestions to the past? In addition, how does one make a fair, measured study of archival material accessed within the regulated practices imposed by archival reading rooms, and bound within the confines of archival selection? And, furthermore, in acknowledging these limitations, how does one justify their own selection of the archival material that has been made available to them? It has also been necessary to consider how to select specific time periods for analysis, when looking for moments of transformation. This chapter sets out the research process for this thesis, and explains my approach to these methodological concerns.

Reflecting on Method

In 2009, the British Film Institute (BFI) held an archive screening night titled *Brit Chic: Fashion in Film 1946-1989*, showcasing a range of short, post-war films promoting British fashion. The films screened were somewhat dated, displaying a positive, warming vision of Britain's past that invoked a sense of nostalgia. There was a significance to these films, a sense that fashion was somehow important. There was also a sense of continuity with contemporary media. One film in particular stood out in this respect, a clip from the early television magazine series *Mayfair Merry-go-round*, from 1954.[1] Television presenter and actress Catherine Boyle guides viewers around a film set intended to represent her home, and shows them what they can buy. Items include a Telemac raincoat, a pair of 'sheer joy' stockings, and a tweed coat. She also ventures away from fashion, to frozen food and a Wedgewood dinner set. Boyle promotes the look of the items and their practicality, before telling spectators how much they cost, and where they can be purchased. The entire programme is, in essence, an advertisement. This integration of fashion advertising into an entertaining television format inspired comparison with contemporary makeover television series *How To Look Good Naked*,[2] in which presenter Gok Wan redesigns contestants' wardrobes. This is a show designed as entertainment, premised on showing women how to dress in a way that will boost their confidence and subsequently change their lives. As Wan dresses his contestants, viewers are told how much the items cost, and where they can be purchased. Like *Mayfair Merry-go-round*, *How To Look Good Naked* is, arguably, an advert

[1] *Mayfair Merry-go-round* (1954). No further credits available.
[2] *How To Look Good Naked* (Channel 4, 2006-2010).

disguised as entertainment. At the front of the *Brit Chic* programme, a synopsis reads, 'From utility to utopia, high end to high street, *Brit Chic* salutes the trends and trendsetters who heightened our sartorial senses and inspired today's trailblazing British designers'.[3] However, these films do not only show the way today's fashions have been inspired and influenced by the past; they also show the way contemporary fashion media has been influenced by post-war filmmaking.

The BFI's *Brit Chic* event raised many questions and avenues of enquiry. Who made the films? Why were they made? And who were they made for? I was driven to explore the blatant product promotion in these films, and inspired to find out more about the relationship between the British film and fashion industries. In particular, I was eager to learn whether the films selected for screening formed part of a larger body of texts. To examine these questions, I visited the BFI Mediateque, film archives, museums, and online platforms in search of further film material. The BFI Mediateque holds an extended *Brit Chic* selection produced by film curator Simon McCallum, spanning from the post-war years to relatively recent material including *Very Jean Muir*, the documentary series from 1993,[4] and *The Frock and Roll Years*, a survey of post-war British fashion from 2002.[5] The BFI have also published *The Pacemakers: Biba*,[6] *This Week in Britain: The Mary Quant Show*,[7] and *Insight: Zandra Rhodes*,[8] some of the films screened at their *Brit Chic* evening, as part of a DVD

[3] BFI, 'Brit Chic: Fashion on Film 1946 – 1989' programme (2009).
[4] *Very Jean Muir* (Channel 4, 1993).
[5] *The Frock and Roll Years* (ITV, 2002).
[6] *The Pacemakers: Biba*, dir. by John Hall (Central Office of Information, 1970).
[7] *This Week in Britain 791: The Mary Quant Show* (Central Office of Information, 1974).
[8] *Insight: Zandra Rhodes*, dir. by Peter Greenaway (Central Office of Information, 1981).

collection titled *Design for Today*,[9] showcasing films made by the Central Office of Information (COI) to promote British fashion and design. The COI was a government film agency instated in 1946, and running until 2012 when the BFI acquired their archives. *Design for Today* is the second of an eight volume COI Collection including thematic selections on policing and crime,[10] Britain's armed forces,[11] health and safety,[12] Britain and its people,[13] 'risk' in our everyday lives,[14] Queen Elizabeth II,[15] and parental guidance.[16] The official production of films presented in *Design for Today* forms the basis of my research in Chapter 4, and points to a political interest in fashion that is perhaps surprising owing to its traditional classification as trivial female fare. This provided a more pointed focus to my search, for different media forms across the decades that were about fashion, which also presented a level of state support.

Investigation of online film archive *www.britishpathe.com* also revealed a range of post-war Pathé newsreels and cinemagazines focused on the subject of fashion. These films have been digitised for online viewing, categorised on the website within 'Fashion & Music'. Other thematic categories include 'Entertainment & Humour', 'Historical Figures & Celebrities', 'Lifestyle & Culture', Religion & Politics', 'Science & Technology', 'Sport & Leisure', 'Trade & Industry', 'Travel & Exploration', and 'War & Revolution'. There is also a series of more specific collections of films on the British Pathé website on

[9] Central Office of Information (COI), *The COI Collection Volume Two: Design for Today* (BFI, 2010).
[10] COI, *The COI Collection Volume One: Police and Thieves* (BFI, 2010).
[11] COI, *The COI Collection Volume Three: They Stand Ready* (BFI, 2010).
[12] COI, *The COI Collection Volume Four: Stop! Look! Listen!* (BFI, 2010).
[13] COI, *The COI Collection Volume Five: A Portrait of a People* (BFI, 2010).
[14] COI, *The COI Collection Volume Six: Worth the Risk?* (BFI, 2010).
[15] COI, *The COI Collection Volume Seven: The Queen on Tour* (BFI, 2010).
[16] COI, *The COI Collection Volume Eight: Your Children and You* (BFI, 2010).

'Victory in Europe Day', 'General Election 2015', 'Churchill: A Life on Film', 'D-Day: 70th Anniversary Collection', 'Scotland: The Heritage Collection', and 'WW1 – The Definitive Collection'.[17] In addition to their online archive, Pathé have also published a range of DVD collections. Some of these DVDs are arranged in decades such as the 'A Year to Remember' collection, which includes volumes on Britain in the thirties, forties, fifties, sixties, seventies, and eighties. Others are arranged thematically, such as collections on 'Variety Acts and Turns of the Second World War', and Royal Air Force newsreels. Pathé have also published a range of DVD collections focused on royalty, including 'Queen Elizabeth in the 1950s',[18] 'British Royal Children of the 20th Century',[19] and 'British Royal Weddings of the 20th Century'.[20] The latter DVD collection forms the basis of research in Chapter 5. Of further interest to this project, was a DVD collection titled 'Fabulous Fashions of the 1940s' which forms the basis of my research in Chapter 3. Like the films of the *Brit Chic* programme, Pathé's newsreels and cinemagazines present information about British fashion in an entertaining manner. Unlike the government production of COI films, these are films made by a commercial company. However, evidence of state support is still visible in the inclusion of 'Government Official' intertitles preceding some of the films. The stark similarity between the two sets of films in format, style, and content is also undeniable.

[17] British Pathé, 'British Pathé', http://www.britishpathe.com, [accessed 07.08.2014].
[18] *Queen Elizabeth in the 1950s* (British Pathé; Cherry Red Films and Strike Force Entertainment, 2010).
[19] *British Royal Children of the 20th Century* (British Pathé; Cherry Red Films and Strike Force Entertainment, 2013).
[20] *British Royal Weddings of the 20th Century* (British Pathé; Cherry Red Films and Strike Force Entertainment, 2010).

Figure 1: MofI Government Official, *Sensible Clothes Buying* (British Pathé, 1942).

In the 2011 royal wedding broadcast on BBC1, frequent references to the British fashion industry stood out from the ceremonial schedule. The promotion of British fashion as part of an official state event presented by a national, publically owned broadcaster immediately conjured images of the post-war films discussed above. Searching for a full recording of the day to study in detail proved difficult. The Souvenir DVD collections produced by the BBC and ITV contain only edited highlights, with the fashion commentary mainly removed. A third DVD highlight collection produced by Formative Productions focuses its commentary almost entirely on fashion, and has proved valuable to my research for Chapter 5. However, as a retrospective edited narrative, it is not interchangeable with the BBC live commentary. A copy of this was eventually accessed at the BFI, along with a full recording of live ITV coverage.

Over a year later during the BBC live broadcast of the London Olympic Games Closing Ceremony, David Bowie's song *Fashion* signified the start of a section devoted entirely to British fashion.[21] The promotion of fashion in the political broadcasting of the Olympic Games immediately drew parallels with the government sponsored films of the COI, and the state involvement in royal wedding coverage. A full recording of this broadcast was later accessed on the Olympics 2012 souvenir DVD.[22] Viewed alongside the Opening Ceremony celebrations on the same DVD collection, the focus on national cultural export in Olympic coverage becomes astoundingly clear. Essentially a political event, this television broadcast stands out as a further instance of non-fiction, state-sponsored British media promoting the national fashion industry in the guise of entertainment.

There were other non-fiction film materials that emerged from this research, such as Rank's short post-war films promoting British fashion, and the wide range of texts available in the BFI mediateque's *Brit Chic* category. However, they did not evidence such a clear trajectory of state support. Initial analysis of these films also proved in many ways repetitious of the analysis conducted on British Pathé, the COI, royal weddings and the Olympic Games. The four case studies that I have chosen were selected as the most prominent examples of state mythologising in each period. To this end, these texts take on a heightened significance over other fashion media, as films that commandeer national events as platforms for officially sponsored tales. In this thesis I argue

[21] 'Fashion', written and performed by David Bowie, from *Scary Monsters (And Super Creeps)* (RCA, 1980).
[22] *London 2012 Olympic Games* (BBC, 2012), DVD.

that they are used to negotiate transitional moments in British identity in the cultivation of national imaginaries.

These films could have been approached in a number of ways. For example, a film history approach could have focused on ascertaining historically specific details about the films and their production. Like the studies by Pam Cook, Sarah Street, and Sue Harper outlined in Chapter 1, a film history approach to the non-fiction British fashion film could have provided a detailed account of film culture in the post-war period, and the relationship between state-funded, and commercial film agencies. A related, film industry approach, could also have followed enquiry into production specific details relating to areas such as personnel and finance, exploring the conditions of film production at certain historical junctures, and charting changes in industrial practice through a chronological study of Britain's promotional fashion media. In addition, a political history approach could have investigated politically specific details such as who commissioned the films, tracing any disagreements about the kinds of messages and ideologies being promoted, and pursuing evidence of political reasoning and decision making behind the production of promotional fashion media. A fashion history, or fashion industry approach could also have drawn attention to the histories of the clothes on screen, ascertaining information such as who designed them, what other media texts they had appeared in, and which celebrities had been seen wearing the same outfits in the real world.

In addition to the above approaches, the texts explored in this thesis could have been approached from the perspective of national cinema, or national

screen studies, concerned with charting the national agendas disseminated through a variety of official, and commercial British media. This approach had the potential to provide critical comment on the relationship between film and propaganda, as well as on political and economic strategy, and national storytelling.

A further investigation of these texts could have taken the form of a survey, which indexed all of the non-fiction British films and television programmes privileging British fashion made between 1940 and 2015. Alternatively, a reception or ethnographic study such as Jackie Stacey's *Star Gazing* explored in Chapter 1, could have privileged questions such as who saw these texts? Where did they see them? How many times, where, and when have they been re-screened? A study of this kind could have looked in to what women thought of the films, and whether they affected women's fashion and beauty habits.

Despite the potential for critical commentary provided by each of the above approaches, the scope and breadth of research and field of texts in this thesis does not allow for an analysis based solely on one approach. For this reason, I have taken elements from each, to produce a methodology driven by the material. Rather than focusing on one key period of British history, this thesis considers a selection of key moments of transformation, each representing a period of change. Tracing significant shifts in state narratives telling women how to transform their lives through fashion, this thesis considers two key periods of national transformation, namely the years surrounding the Second World War

and the immediate post-war period, and the years following the global financial crash of 2008, to the present day. As demonstrated in this thesis, each of these two periods is punctuated with significant moments of transformation representative of wider social change, indicated by the start of clothes rationing in 1941 and its end in 1949, the decade of the 'Swinging Sixties', specific occasions of ceremonial royal events across both periods, and the one-off event of the London 2012 Olympic Games. Some of these moments span a decade, whilst others, span just one day. However, each is indicative of wider social change and cultural transformation, providing an insight into developing state narratives about British fashion.

This collection of historical moments requires an oversight over almost a century of film and television, processing changes in media forms to chart a journey from the forties to the present day. For this reason, it does not allow for the level of detail required in studies following a purely historical or industrial approach. Rather, it calls for an interdisciplinary approach, which draws on the critical paradigms set out in the introduction. Looking at films of the post-war period in relation to contemporary material also requires an approach that looks back at history from the present day, considering each period against the other. However, I have found historical and industrial approaches helpful in providing a context for each of the moments in question. Archival research of the Mass Observation archives, and historical accounts of the forties, fifties, and sixties have given the project a historical grounding, whilst time spent going through the Minutes of the Newsreel Association of Great Britain at the BFI Special Collections produced an insight into the industrial and political environments

from which the films were created. Research into fashion history has also supplemented my reading of the films.

Similarly, a predominantly national cinema or screen studies perspective could not account for the very precise line drawn between the overt promotion of Britain on screen, and the simultaneous promotion of the British fashion industry. However, this does not detract from the notion that the texts studied have a national agenda, necessitating a consideration of scholarship on film and national identity, by scholars such as Pam Cook and Andrew Higson. Focusing on the stories these films tell, this study marks shifts and transitional phases in the national imaginary presented and evidenced in four case studies. Whilst this study does not provide a complete survey, it does trace a continuum of films and television programmes across periods of time, providing information on a substantial number of texts made between 1940 and 2012. This aspect of the methodology has been useful in tracing a theme of fantasy and ideology that requires selection based on a range of visually rich, naturally progressive media.

Finally, I have used ethnographic studies such as Jackie Stacey's *Star Gazing* as reference points for understanding why the texts in question address their viewers in certain ways. However, again, a purely ethnographic approach proved inappropriate to this study, owing to the complex nature of comparing cinema audiences of the forties with television audiences of the sixties, and contemporary mobile phone audiences. I have also been constrained by the limited availability of archival information surrounding who saw the texts and

when. For most of the films studied in this thesis, I have not been able to find substantive documentation of this.

This thesis involves discussion of two different media, film and television, which presents its own difficulties, not least the danger of eliding the differences between them. Whilst I want to make a case for a consideration of certain televisual outputs of national events as having affinities with British non-fiction film, I will first address some of the specificities of British television. These are respectively the institution of television as a national concern, the televisual effect of "flow" connecting multiple programme formats, and the domestic situation of television and its relation to discourses of class and gender in the home.

The history of the medium of television in Britain evidences a strong connection to the state with the founding of the BBC, which became a dual system of state and commercially funded television in the post-war period with the establishment of Independent Television (ITV, 1955) as a regionally based federation of companies. The BBC's founding remit to, famously, educate, inform and entertain established not only a set of priorities, but also a pedagogic relation to its audience (a relation akin to that of the information film and its audience). The remit to educate combined with an aim to inform created a role for television that at its most positive could be described, as Peter Dahlgren argues, as a type of public sphere or site of democratic debate, and at its most manipulative, as a means for state influence over its citizens. Dahlgren contends that whilst television has the potential for the former, in practice it tends to

operate more often as the latter. Drawing on the work of John Fiske, he describes television operating as a set of ideological codes, which 'serve to organise collective perceptions in ways which have consequences for the social order as a whole, for example, codes which define, advocate and legitimize varieties of social position'.[23] As an institution of the public sphere, public service broadcasting has a particular vulnerability at the political level, operating under a political economy of ownership, control and regulation.[24] As Dahlgren argues, this vulnerability facilitates an opportunity for powerful interests to apply political pressure, exploiting the responsibility and reputation of public service broadcasting to 'serve the public interest'.[25]

Critical television scholarship as described by Lynn Spigel and Michale Curtin, was in its earliest manifestation a critique of television as a form of 'hopeless consensus', [26] particularly prevalent in the culture vs. counter-culture debate of the sixties, in which television was so often defined as '*them*'. [27] Cultural theorists Stuart Hall, Ian Connell, and Lidia Curti also acknowledge a 'conspiracy thesis' within early television scholarship, founded on the methodological aim of revealing lines of influence between the state and television. News and current affairs programming, they argue, reviewing approaches to television from nineteen-sixty to nineteen-eighty, is 'depicted as the public voice of a sectional, but dominant, political ideology, […] reproduced in the media to the exclusion of any other'. [28] This somewhat reductive view of

[23] Dahlgren, p. 32.
[24] Ibid., pp. 27-28.
[25] Ibid., p. 29.
[26] Spigel and Curtin, p. 1.
[27] Ibid., p. 2. Emphasis as in original.
[28] Connell, Curti, and Hall, p. 88.

the medium of television that Hall and others draw attention to opens up onto other aspects of its form, not least through the work of Raymond Williams.

In his seminal work *Television: Technology and Cultural Form* (1974),[29] Williams argued that television's specific effect was produced through the continuous transmission of programmes, rather than the appeal of programmes as separate units, thereby defining the medium through its form rather than content. 'In all developed broadcasting systems', he wrote, 'the characteristic organization, and therefore the characteristic experience, is one of sequence or flow'. He continues, 'This phenomenon of planned flow is then perhaps the defining characteristic of broadcasting, simultaneously as a technology and as a cultural form'.[30] The point that Williams makes here is a complex one, that television's effect as it were is the ongoing nature of its transmission that joins all that it presents. The question of how this effects its content is one that has continued to be debated. As television gradually extended channel outputs through the eighties and nineties in Britain, becoming what Dahlgren calls a 'multiply embedded' industry,[31], the concept of television as flow is however put under pressure. Whilst television's traditional multi-format presentation of news media programmed alongside entertainment, fact preceding fiction continues into the present moment, it is an offering delivered in parallel to specialised channels for topics such as news, history and science. That is, multi-format, 'magazine' television programming exists alongside deep forms of specialism.

[29] Raymond Williams, *Television: Technology and Cultural Form*, ed. by Ederyn Williams, (London: Routledge, 1990) [first published in 1975].
[30] Ibid., p.79
[31] Dahlgren, p. 30.

The third defining feature of television, at its inception at least, has been its position in the home, a piece of furniture that is both a technological and cultural form embedded in the domestic sphere. The location of television in the heart of the home provides for a range of concerns and anxieties about the mixing of public and personal life. Lynn Spigel, writing of the immediate post-war period, outlines popular 'dystopian discourses' warning viewers of television's potential to devastate family relationships and interrupt the efficiency of domestic life, leading ultimately to a culture of isolated individuals who sacrifice family interaction to stare at images on the screen.[32] It is a popular discourse aligned to some extent with the scholarship concerned with the ideological discourses of television and its effectiveness in a home environment. As Dahlgren writes, 'Television is part of our daily lived reality, penetrating into the microcosms of our social world'.[33] Repeated media formats become familiar narratives and rituals, because of their frequency, but also, because of their placement in a familiar environment, ingrained in the everyday experiences of their viewers to the extent that they produce an illusion of 'implicit sociocultural common sense'.[34] Yet this understanding of television as a passively absorbed influence was challenged by scholarship that debated how television affected the space of the living room and its dynamics, for example in seminal studies by David Morley (1980)[35] and Sonia Livingstone (1990).[36] The 'effect' of television, they argued, was not simply determined but subtly negotiated through

[32] Lynn Spigel, 'Installing the Television Set: Popular Discourses on Television and Domestic Space, 1948-1955', in *Private Screenings: Television and the Female Consumer*, ed. by Lynn Spigel and Denise Mann, (Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press, 1992), pp. 3- 40, (p. 3).
[33] Dahlgren, p. 39.
[34] Ibid., p. 41.
[35] David Morley, *The Nationwide Audience: Structure and Decoding* (London: BFI, 1980).
[36] Sonia Livingstone, *Making Sense of Television: The Psychology of Audience Interpretation* (London: Routledge, 1990).

the prism of class, gender, ethnicity and age in relation to particular programmes and programming features.

In this vein, and of particular relevance to the themes of this thesis, Charlotte Brunsdon locates a specific, ongoing impulse in British television broadcasting that both engages the differentials of its viewing public and continues a Reithian legacy to improve its audience.[37] Part of the Midlands TV Research Group, Brunsdon's empirical survey of television in the nineties from 8-9pm each week day evidences a trend towards what the industry names 'life-style' programming, but might otherwise be regarded as self-improvement television. Inclusive of subjects such as how to cook and how to dress, television provides a pedagogic menu of entertainment to its watchers, albeit through a highly gendered framework. This development in national television programming is clearly linked to the state-funded non-fiction films that preceded them and that are the subject of this thesis. A discourse of self-improvement is linked to national agendas of economic down-turn, health crises and more recently, austerity.

With an agenda to influence the opinions and behaviours of its audience through opportunities for learning and for entertainment, television has a relationship with state policy, civilian instruction, and news media, which do not exist, to the same extent in cinema. However, in this thesis I present an argument for a specific type of information film to form part of the same conversation. I am also, conversely, arguing for a certain form of television programming to be

---

[37] Brunsdon, 'Lifestyling Britain', p. 75.

taken into account as a state-funded exercise in fiction dressed as fact. In what might be called ‘event’ television (televised royal weddings and Olympic Games broadcasts), certain activities are marked as national occasions with an ideological discourse that has antecedents in state-authorised non-fiction film. I am arguing then for a continuity of discourse not only across decades, but also across media through a shared thematic treatment that presents aspiration in terms of a national lifestyle. Whilst film and television have different histories and specificities as media forms, there are points of convergence in their function and efficacy and that is what I am concerned to trace.

As the following case studies will demonstrate, the category of non-fiction state-authorised information film operates under a similar ideological agenda as a strand of British television programming, guided by the interests of the state, sold to its audiences through aspirational improvement narratives. Although the films of my study, defined as newsreels and cinemagazines, differ from television in that they were not screened in the home but in cinemas before the main feature, they offer an insight into the dissemination of public information on screen before television became so prevalent and influential. In so doing their study contributes to a historical scholarly narrative of didactic instruction sold as entertainment. In justification for considering this material alongside television, I argue that, viewed chronologically, they offer a frame through which to address, and understand, the formula behind certain contemporary televisual material.

Luke McKernan discusses the government's use of newsreels as a 'powerful medium for war-time propaganda, delivering memorable, influential images to a mass audience'.[38] Newsreels were short news items often screened at the beginning of a cinema programme before the main feature, or in specifically appropriated news theatres. As Robert Herring explains, they were promoted as a medium through which to show audiences 'what happened at the time and in the place at which it happened',[39] a window on the world akin to contemporary television discourse. However, in reality, these media forms sold as informational news footage presented doctored representations of current events to fit an ideological agenda. Herring expands, 'we only see, first, what the sponsors wish, secondly, what the cameramen are there to record'.[40] Herring here describes the newsreel as a projection of the politician's voice 'behind the screen'.[41] This is a potent description considering Nicholas Pronay's claim for the Second World War as a period when the 'cinema was integrated into the structure of wartime information', and the newsreels were in a strong position to contribute to public opinion.[42] Newsreels had a specific role in film production during the Second World War that required them to balance between information, entertainment, and propaganda. Developing from a tradition of news journalism rather than cinema, the newsreel was set apart from feature film, or even documentary filmmaking.[43] At the same time, newsreels were openly identified as propaganda. Pronay describes an uncertainty among the film

[38] Luke McKernan, 'Introduction', in *Yesterday's News, The British Cinema Newsreel Reader*, ed. by British Universities Film and Video Council (London: BUFVC, 2002), pp. viii-x, (p. ix).
[39] Robert Herring, 'The News-Reel' in *Yesterday's News* [first published in *Life and Letters To-day*, 10, 17, (1937)], pp. 108-115, (p. 112).
[40] Ibid., p. 112.
[41] Ibid.,, p. 115.
[42] Nicholas Pronay, 'British Newsreels in the 1930s: Audience and Producers', in *Yesterday's News* [first published in *History*, 188, 56, (1971)], pp. 128-147, (p. 139).
[43] Nicholas Pronay, 'British Newsreels in the 1930s: Their Policies and Impact', in *Yesterday's News* [first published in *History*, 189, 57, (1972)], p. 148.

industry of the period as 'whether to extend to newsreels the traditionally accepted norm of the freedom of the press; or whether to place them under the traditionally accepted norm of the lack of freedom of the stage'.[44] In their unique placement between journalism and cinema, newsreels combined an essence of news media with an 'illusion of events and woven in editorial opinion',[45] instigating questions as to their confused identity and purpose; were they forms of news, or entertainment? Either way, they had an overarching propagandist agenda, a 'general policy' of information operated by five different newsreel companies, named in Chapter 3.[46] According to Herring, these agendas were disseminated through a subconscious audience infiltration of mediated messages. He writes,

> [A]udiences don't give the news-reel the whole of their attention. They drop in, notice the items they want, doze through the rest. […] And so, by degrees, slogans can be dinned into the audiences' ears till they become familiar with them, the first step towards accepting them. A viewpoint can be presented until it seems the natural one. Subtly, the propaganda of the news-reel can sink in – without anyone asking whose propaganda it is.[47]

Similar to the subconscious mediation of political messages through television and into the home, the newsreel is here described to exploit an environment in which audiences feel relaxed, and allow themselves to switch off.

The cinemagazine followed a similar format to the newsreel although the subject was much more 'frivolous' in nature, and the narrative tone much more

[44] Ibid., p. 150.
[45] Ibid., p. 4.
[46] Ibid., p. 148.
[47] Herring, pp. 114-115.

jovial. Its focus was on fun, inciting humour with bizarre images.[48] As Emily Crosby explains, cinemagazines were appropriated by the British government alongside newsreels as forms of public information. She writes,

> At a time when vast groups of people needed to be kept informed of national developments, it was necessary to be able to distribute the same message to all, in a format that they could easily relate to and understand. The cinemagazine was a familiar form to both producers and consumers, and as such, seemed the perfect choice for government-sponsored film.[49]

A fun and entertaining format entertaining topics such as fashion and beauty, the cinemagazine can also be seen as a mouthpiece for government messages, structured through aspirational narratives of self-improvement, and disguised as light hearted entertainment. Propaganda has an even stronger relationship here with entertainment than it did in the newsreel. The cinemagazine also had a more explicit relationship to advertising than the newsreel, with a strand of commercially sponsored cinemagazines 'funded by industrial and commercial companies, and even charities',[50] disseminated alongside those commissioned by government bodies. As parallel forms of film production that emerged in the first decade of the twentieth-century, the newsreel and cinemagazine movements were both constructed as precursors to the British Documentary Movement that began with the John Grierson School in the late nineteen-twenties. As Hammerton argues, analysis of these particular media forms can help us to

---

[48] Jenny Hammerton, 'Everything That Constitutes Life: Pathe Cinemagazines 1918-1969', in *Yesterday's News*, pp. 268-80, (p. 268).
[49] Emily Crosby, 'The Rise and Fall of the Sponsored Cinemagazine', in *Projecting Britain: The Guide to British Cinemagazines,* ed. by Emily Crosby, and Linda Kaye (London: BUFVC, 2008), pp. 46-56, (p. 47).
[50] Ibid., p. 46.

'discern much about the way non-narrative films were constructed' in the past.[51] Linda Kaye identifies a resonance between 'the strategies developed' by these media forms and the contemporary 'dissemination of material as unattributed items within television schedules', which function towards 'the development of a recognisable cohesive image of Britain, or nation brand, repackaged for different "territories"'.[52] This resonance is demonstrated throughout the combined analysis of four case studies in this thesis.

The corpus of informational texts analysed in this research includes a combination of newsreels and cinemagazines. On the whole, the texts can be distinguished between newsreels, which present coverage of real life events, and cinemagazines, filmed in a studio, and constructed through a format of instruction, advice, and promised transformation. However, there are also crossovers between the two, in their shared narrative of British fashion heritage and the corresponding image of appropriate British femininity. Despite their contrasting formats, both follow a consistent, informational, aspirational trajectory aimed at a nation of British women. The combined themes of national identity and fashion bridge an interesting line between traditional notions of national identity as a newsworthy topic, and fashion, as a subject of frivolous entertainment, offering a possible explanation for their consideration in both types of information film. There are also some uncertainties as to classification, with a collection of films presented on a DVD of 'cinemagazines' presenting opening titles defining them as 'news' items. However, as this thesis testifies, both warrant special consideration as precursors to television as informational

[51] Hammerton, 'Everything that Constitutes Life', p. 279.
[52] Linda Kaye, 'Reconciling Policy and Propaganda: The British Overseas Television Service 1954-1964' [first published in 2007], in *Projecting Britain:* pp. 69-96, (p. 69).

media forms disseminating ideological messages on screen, harnessed to a state agenda. In his article, 'The Newsreel Boys', Philip Norman describes television as 'the finish of the newsreel'.[53] In accordance with the analysis conducted in this thesis, I go so far as to argue that perhaps, it was only another beginning.

Balancing tensions between fairy tale, fantasy, economics, and politics, this thesis' approach focuses on the continuity of ideology and mythology between the texts studied on a continuum. Throughout the following chapters I indicate changes in economic, political, lifestyle, and consumer ideals, through the narrative form of fashion. I mark shifts and transitional phases in British imaginaries, and the way the state wants people, particularly women, to think about themselves. In order to analyse such a range and breadth of time, media, and addressees, it was necessary to step back from history and reception in a more overarching way, to be able to identify the interrelated, perpetuating, and replicating intertextual narratives that bind these case studies together. As this thesis works to show, contemporary non-fiction British fashion films work as they do because of the legacy set by earlier texts. Privileging the continuity of ideology in state-supported fashion stories, this thesis does not analyse the four case studies in isolation, but, moreover, analyses the way they work in relation to one another. Focusing on the images and ideas audiences are given and encouraged to use in thinking about themselves, this thesis indicates consistencies not only within the stories, but also in state ideology that encourages viewers to watch and aspire to the texts' expectations. Responding to the intertextual nature of these texts, this thesis pursues a particular line of

[53] Philip Norman, 'The Newsreel Boys', in *Yesterday's News,* [first published in the *Sunday Times Magazine*, 10 January 1971], pp. 1-11, (p. 110).

enquiry dictated by the texts themselves, and their clear continuity of approach across the decades.

Archival Research

As historical artifacts, the collection of promotional fashion films studied in this thesis belongs to various archives, now held by the BFI, Pathé, and the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC). According to the European Commission's 2013 report on 'Film Heritage in the EU', 'Cinematographic images are a crucial element for learning about the past and for civic reflection upon our civilisation'.[54] The European Commission (EC) here encourages viewers to watch films as a way of viewing history. As visual recordings of moments in time, the EC presents films as though primary evidence: historical narrators through which viewers can review times gone by. The EC's view on the educational historical value of films falls in line with the BFI archival film collection policy, which aims to preserve and hold films 'in trust' for the public's future use.[55] In this sense, films can fulfill a similar role to archives, recording footage for posterity, to educate viewers on yesteryear. In this tautological process, archival documents are preserved, to be archival documents. Here, the archive and the film follow a process parallel to that of the fashion industry, leaving open the possibility for repurposing and recycling past stories for future audiences. In addition to the archival texts studied throughout this thesis, my

[54] European Commission, 'Film Heritage in the EU', (2012-2013), <http://ec.europa.eu/information_society/newsroom/image/4th_film%20heritage%20report%20final%20for%20transmission_6962.pdf> [accessed: 17.12.2014], (p. 4).
[55] BFI, 'BFI Collection Policy', (2011), <http://www.bfi.org.uk/sites/bfi.org.uk/files/downloads/bfi-collection-policy-2014-07-02.pdf> [accessed: 17.12.2014], (p. 6).

project involved research in three paper archives: The British Film Institute Special Collections, the Imperial War Museum archives, and The Mass Observation archives.

The Special Collections at the BFI contain production material, scripts, and content summaries for a range of the COI's films on subjects as varied as coal, education, weather, poultry, ballet, traffic control, and royal tours. However, I did not find any production details relating specifically to the COI's fashion promotion.[56] The closest material I found was a release script for a 1951 film titled 'Is This The Job For Me? No 5: Making Boots and Shoes', made for the Central Youth Employment Executive Ministry of Labour and National Service, and presented by the Crown Film Unit to promote shoe manufacture as a desirable career choice for school leavers.[57] As outlined in a discussion on the incomplete nature of archival research later in this chapter, this does not mean that fashion-focused production documents do not exist; only that they were not uncovered in my particular line of research, based on the research choices I made. However, within the BFI Special Collections I found a wealth of material on the Newsreel Association of Great Britain, and the British documentary maker Basil Wright. Sifting through the many boxes of policy documents and correspondence within these archives gave me a sense of chaos behind the scenes of post-war information films, and the institutions that made them. In the Basil Wright archive, an untitled newsletter from August 1941 speaks of a 'completely

[56] In this documentation, I was also hoping to find information pertaining to individual film directors. This information is missing from the credits provided for the films on the DVD programme, and the BFI website. The same is true of the British Pathé shorts, both on DVD and online, where the full archive has been digitised (see Chapter 3). I have included this information whenever it has been available.
[57] *Is This the Job for Me? No. 5: Making Boots and Shoes* (COI, 1951).

false distinction drawn between "propaganda" and "cultural" films – a distinction which has caused a good deal of befuddlement as to the respective duties of the Division and of the Film Committee of the British Council'.[58] It is not clear from the newsletter what the distinction is. However, the comment gives an impression of confusion amongst national film institutions surrounding their wartime remit. In an un-authored letter from 1945 also found in the Basil Wright archive, is written, 'The M.O.I. [Ministry of Information] is a beautiful mess, the British Council ditto; the British Film Institute ditto, in fact all the instruments of information and persuasion the poor devils so badly need'.[59] Detailed information as to why these institutions are in a 'mess' is missing from the document. However, this note points to a possible disruption surrounding the purpose of public information, and points to the incomplete nature of the archive.

Minutes from the meetings of the Newsreel Association of Great Britain give a further sense of the culture behind post-war information films. A meeting note from 4th September 1947 explains that, whilst first coverage rights for filming the royal wedding would be given to Gaumont British in line with the Newsreel Association rota, British Pathé had won the second place in a draw.[60] Notes surrounding the 1947 royal wedding (discussed in Chapter 5) also present clues as to the rules surrounding what could and could not be filmed. On the 6th November 1947 under the title 'Forthcoming Royal Wedding' is the note, 'latest decision of His Majesty that filming may commence at the moment when the head of the Procession leaves the western-most end of the Choir Stalls on its way

[58] 'Untitled Newsletter', in *BFI Special Collections, Basil Wright, BCW /5/1/2,* (1941).
[59] 'Unauthored letter', in *BFI Special Collections, Basil Wright, BCW /5/1/2,* (1945).
[60] Newsreel Association of Great Britain, 'September 4th, 1947, 11.30am' *BFI Special Collections*, *Minutes of the Newsreel Association of Great Britain*, Box 3 (1944-1948).

down the Abbey to the Great West Door'.[61] These snippets of conversation on royal wedding coverage highlight a contingency regarding who filmed the events, and a corresponding level of censorship about what could and could not be shown. Further hints found through these meeting minutes include conflicts of interest between national film organisations in the post-war period. A note from 21st April 1949 states that the BFI requested footage from the N.R.A [Newsreel Association] as it was within their remit to 'compile a permanent film record of the way of life of this generation'.[62] The Newsreel Association declined, arguing that the films requested were not 'films of historical interest and suitable for preservation'.[63] This sense of the BFI's difficulty in collecting materials calls into question the idea of completion in any archive, here limited both by the films the BFI have access to, and the further limitations imposed by their own selection criteria, discussed later in this chapter.

The second archive visited in the process of this research was that of the Imperial War Museum (IWM). Many of the films studied in this thesis were made during, and in the period following, the Second World War. I contacted the Imperial War Museum archives to find out whether an archive of war would offer a different perspective to one of film. Were there specific documents relating to fashion promotion in wartime policy? Was there any more background information on why the government privileged fashion stories at this time of national crisis? I was hoping that the Imperial War Museum archives might fill in some of the gaps left by material found in the BFI Special

[61] Newsreel Association of Great Britain, '6th November, 1947, 11.15am', *BFI Special Collections*, *Minutes of the Newsreel Association of Great Britain*, Box 3.
[62] Newsreel Association of Great Britain, 'Thurs April 21st, 11.15 am', *BFI Special Collections, Minutes of the Newsreel Association of Great Britain 1941-1943*, Box 4 (1949).
[63] Ibid.

Collections. I also wanted to find out whether a war archive would consider fashion films as part of its remit, including them as part of its narrative on wartime propaganda. The Ministry of Information Second World War Collection of photographs held by the IWM archive contains fashion images, with subjects including London fashion designers, and Utility clothes. They also hold material such as newspaper articles on home fashions, *Make Do and Mend* Leaflets, and paper dress making patterns. However, although the archive contains a range of newsreels, I was unsuccessful finding film material relating specifically to fashion, unless it was part of a wider film considering rationing more generally. Instead, I found a range of newsreels made for domestic and overseas audiences, on subjects including digging for victory, food hygiene, the war front, life in Kenya during the Second World War, and sex education (presented by the Royal Air Force). Moreover, I did not find any paper archives relating to fashion films. I did however find background information on the COI, which has informed my research in Chapter 4.

In an attempt to find public responses to the films I was studying, I visited the Mass Observation archive. Mass Observation was a social research organisation set up in 1937, which aimed to create an 'anthropology of ourselves' – an idea based around the idea of archiving people's histories and experiences.[64] The aim of the organisation was to 'study the everyday lives of ordinary people in Britain'.[65] This research was conducted in a number of ways: observers were sent out to record people's behaviour at various public events,

[64] Mass Observation, 'About Mass Observation: A Brief History', *Mass Observation: Recording Everyday Life in Britain* <http://www.massobs.org.uk/a_brief_history.htm> [accessed 19.01.2015].
[65] Ibid.

questionnaires were given to the public on a huge variety of topics relating to everyday life, and a call was sent out to the public for volunteers to write personal diaries from which future generations could learn about British historical and social life. This call had a large return, and so the National Panel of Diarists was born in 1939.

The findings of the Mass Observation's research were compiled as numerous reports, many of which have now become part of the Mass Observation archive itself. Books have also been published which combine, for example, various diary entries, which can be bought commercially, a quite unorthodox outlet for archives which (discussed later in this chapter) have traditionally been seen as owned spaces with their own rules and limitations. This is a particularly rare archive in that the documents it holds were written with the intention of being used as archive documents. Often archives contain personal documents such as letters, drawings, and hand written notes, none of which was intended to be read by researchers or members of the public at their time of writing. In contrast, the National Panel of Diarists wrote their diaries knowing that they would be used as social records and read by future generations. Whilst I did not find any responses to the specific films covered in this thesis, my research in the Mass Observation archive led to a document that challenged the way I thought about archival sources.

The document is titled 'What is Public Opinion?' and dated 19th August 1940. It questions the truth of Mass Observation reports even at their time of writing, by challenging the research results. It states:

> How much he [the general man] will voice publicly depends partly on his mood and character, but partly also on external events, and above all on how far it is respectable, the done thing, to voice such opinions at the time.[66]

Suggesting that people will edit their diary entries and questionnaire responses to display themselves as a particular type of person, or to avoid criticism for voicing a certain view, this report highlights the difficulties involved with using the Mass Observation reports as the basis for academic research.[67] It goes on to state: 'Mass-Observation originated in this very problem, so is automatically engrossed in it'. Nevertheless, the Mass Observation archive is an extremely rich resource in terms of the variety of material written by diarists from all over the country from different backgrounds and professions, and forms an unusual collection of people's informal, private thoughts, opinions, and recollections.

As with the post-war period, study of the contemporary period in this thesis has involved a combination of film, television, and paper archives research. Live coverage from the 2011 royal wedding on BBC and ITV was archived at the BFI. Olympic coverage was archived on DVD, like the digitised material of Pathé and the COI, accessed on DVD and online. 'Paper' archives researched for contemporary material such as magazine articles, blogs, and commentaries have been found on the Internet. The method of research for both time periods was therefore similar, although I did not need to enter a physical archive space to access contemporary 'paper' archives, which I found online.

---

[66] Anonymous, '"What is Public Opinion" rough copy', in *Mass Observation Archive, Propaganda and Morale, Box 1, Folder 1/B,* (19.08.1940).
[67] This practice can perhaps be compared to the way one would use Facebook today as a digital version of this type of social record keeping.

However, there remain key differences between researching films of the past, and researching contemporary material. Through historical layers of archival selection processes discussed later in this chapter, information of the past recedes and narrows through time, whilst present materials are surrounded by multiple accounts, albeit with varying degrees of authority.

Because of the nature of archives as holders of fragmented notes, ellipses, and clues surrounding historical events, it is difficult to give a concise explanation of how these paper archives informed my work. Archival research has been helpful in providing a certain amount of background information on these films, specifically a book on the Central Office of Information accessed at the IWM.[68] It has also helped to situate the films included in this study within a wider context of state propaganda and public information, establishing fashion as a significant area of political strategy alongside food, ammunitions, education, and the front line. Going through the many boxes and files at the BFI Special Collections suggested a level of censorship and conscious construction behind the information films of the forties. However, it also suggested that the clarity of the films' messages hid an industry in disarray about the stories they could and should be telling, with disagreements as to the distinction between propaganda and culture, and official institutions in a 'beautiful mess' regarding their remit to provide information. The Mass Observation diary entries offered a different kind of archival document to the official policy documents, widening my understanding of materials consciously written for future readership. Considering the subjective nature of the Mass Observation diary entries also informed my

[68] Sir Fife Clark, *The Central Office of Information* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1970).

approach to archival documents as the tellers of representational accounts. The 'mess' behind the construction of official films, and the self-censored accounts of Mass Observation illustrated the subjective nature of archival texts, as fictions resulting from contingent circumstances based on confused political agendas. The incomplete nature of archival documentation, demonstrated through the gaps in my research findings, also foregrounded the notion that archives hold only selections of material, shaping my agenda towards addressing the texts and their archives as cultural storytellers, rather than as sources of historical accuracy.

Archival Stories

As this thesis appraises and analyses the way mythologising stories function in archival texts, historiographical theories have been useful in providing an understanding of how archives work. Writing by scholars including Derrida and Foucault has afforded a conceptual awareness of the ideological concerns regarding the limitation of archival and cultural stories, providing insight into the constructed nature of archival collections, and helping to demystify the process of working with archival sources.

Despite their historical value, both films and archives must be approached with caution as factual institutions. As products of a creative industry, films tell stories at the same time as they record moments. As a film archive, the BFI do not only hold documents, they 'create records and knowledge resources around […] [each] subject'.[69] BFI archivists interpret the documents they collect and

[69] BFI, 'BFI Collection Policy', p. 6.

impose their interpretations back onto the documents, grouping the items into separate categories, specified in the construction of archival box lists, and collection summaries or introductions. The archivist influences the archive. French philosopher Jacques Derrida discusses this archival creativity:

> The archive, as printing, writing, prosthesis, or hypomnesiac technique in general is not only the place for stocking and conserving an archivable content of the past […]. No, the technical structure of the archiving archive also determines the structure of the archivable content even in its very coming into existence and in its relationship to the future. The archivization process produces as much as it records the event. This is also our political experience of the so-called news media.[70]

The 'archiving archive' is an active, doing, subject. According to Derrida, the systems of the archive, its procedures and classifications have the power to influence and determine a researcher's response to a particular document, producing meaning through a process of structure and selection. Like a film or news broadcast, an archive constructs, and tells, its own story.

Derrida writes about archival research as 'archive fever,' the compulsion to find origins in archives. 'The *trouble de l'archive* stems from a *mal d'archive*. We are *en mal d'archive*: in need of archives.'[71] For Derrida, this search for origins is by its nature impossible.[72] History cannot exist in archives because archives, and the myriad of documents they hold, are nothing more than representations. In *The Archeology of Knowledge* (1969), Michel Foucault argues

[70] Jacques Derrida, *Archive Fever: a Freudian Impression* (Chicago; London: University of Chicago Press, 1996), trans. by Eric Prenowitz [first published in French in 1995], pp. 16-17.
[71] Ibid., p. 91. Emphasis as in original.
[72] Ibid.

that the archive writes history and 'transforms *documents* into *monuments.*'[73] Foucault talks about archives as attempts to totalise history, despite the impossible nature of the attempt. He argues, 'history now organizes the document, divides it up, distributes it, orders it, arranges it in levels, establishes series, distinguishes between what is relevant and what is not, discovers elements, defines unities, describes relations'.[74] History is organised, ordered, and arranged through the archive, to form a clear narrative, 'a coherent type of civilization'.[75] However, as Foucault goes on to argue, 'The archive cannot be described in its totality […]. It emerges in fragments, regions, and levels, more fully, no doubt, and with greater sharpness, the greater the time that separates us from it'.[76] No archive is total, and neither are the histories or stories that are told from them. As discussed later in this chapter, the same is true for the narrative given in this thesis.

According to Foucault, many different narratives of history can exist concurrently. Foucault rejects the concept of a 'total history' that 'seeks to reconstitute the overall form of a civilization,' and instead speaks of the establishment of a 'general history,' a 'new history,' that 'speaks of series, divisions, limits, differences of level, shifts, chronological specificities, particular forms of rehandling, [and] possible types of relation,'[77] a history of fragments that 'would deploy the space of dispersion'.[78] Following the postmodern definition of fragmentation outlined by Andrew Bennet and Nicholas Royle,

---

[73] Michel Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge* (London: Tavistock, 1972), trans. by A.M. Sheridan Smith, [first published in French in 1969], p. 8. Emphasis as in original.
[74] Ibid., p. 7.
[75] Ibid., p. 14.
[76] Ibid., p. 147.
[77] Ibid., pp. 10-11.
[78] Ibid., p. 11.

Foucault's approach to history 'does not depend on the possibility of an original "unity" that has been lost', but on a 'dissemination without any assurance of a centre or destination'.[79] Foucault's argument that there is no such thing as an undisturbed, or unbiased presentation of history is postmodern in nature. In an introduction to postmodernism, Rice and Waugh summarise, 'History becomes a plurality of islands of discourse arising out of the institutionally produced languages we bring to bear on it'.[80] History is here described as an institutionally validated discourse.

Historiographers speak of archives as powerful structures, granted with political, social, and economic authority as systems that construct an official version of the past. As Derrida has observed,

> *every* archive […] is at once *institutive* and *conservative* […] An *eco-nomic* archive in this double sense: it keeps, it puts in reserve, it saves, but in an unnatural fashion, that is to say in making the law…or in making people respect the law […] It has the force of law, of a law which is the law of the house […], of the house as place, domicile, family, lineage, or institution.[81]

Derrida is here speaking of the 'powers of economy […] archival economy.'[82] Archives are predominantly created and governed by institutions that choose which items to make accessible, and to whom. He also notes the importance of the location of an archive, the 'housing' of documents, which produces a familial set of relations between the separate parts.

---

[79] Bennett and Royle, p. 251.
[80] Philip Rice and Patricia Waugh, 'Section 4 Postmodernism Introduction', in *Modern Literary Theory* fourth edn. ed. by Philip Rice and Patricia Waugh (New York: Hodder Arnold, 2001) [first published in 1989], pp. 325 - 28 (p. 326).
[81] Derrida, p. 7. Emphasis as in original.
[82] Ibid., pp. 7-8.

Telling a story of history, the archive also shares a common purpose with the museum. In its film collection policy, the BFI identifies itself as a 'National Collection'.

> It [the BFI] is one of the largest and most diverse collections in the world, comparable to the Library of Congress and Archives Françaises du Film du CNC. In the UK it ranks alongside other great National Collections including the British Library, The British Museum, The National Archives and Tate. [83]

The reference to a museum-ranking system suggests that there is a hierarchy of official histories associated with the hierarchy of the institution. The majority of the BFI's institutional list are 'National' or 'British' institutions, implying that the stories they tell are collective, perhaps generalised or stereotyped, and, significantly, official. The policy continues,

> These institutions share a common purpose, which is to enable people to explore their collections and subjects for inspiration, learning and enjoyment. They all collect, safeguard and make accessible collections to support this objective, utilising similar procedures and in accordance with a broadly common framework of standards.[84]

The national institutions described by the BFI do not simply display objects. Each museum has an objective as the teller of official stories. The 'common purpose' outlined in the BFI's above statement, of enabling the public to delve into the collections and draw 'inspiration, learning and enjoyment' is arguably shared by the DVD and online collections of Pathé and the COI, that provide access to archival films for a similar purpose. These collections comprise a form

[83] BFI, 'BFI Collection Policy', p. 2.
[84] Ibid.

of mobile archive that is nevertheless institutional, as products of physical archives, and commodities for museum consumption. Like the archives that hold and display them, the texts studied in this thesis are institutionally validated.

Archival Selection

The texts explored in this thesis have undergone a multi-layered selection process, from their initial production, to preservation in the archive, and, indeed, inclusion in this thesis. The BFI define their own archive collection as a 'palimpsest of film history, reflecting the priorities and decisions made by curatorial staff through time'.[85] At the outset, the filmmaker makes a selection of what to film. Later, an archival selection process decides which films to save or preserve. The next stage of selection determines which archival films to make accessible, and to whom. This is followed by a decision of which films to digitise and make available on DVD and online. Derrida demands justification for archival selection, posing perhaps rhetorical questions such as 'Why detail you these worn out stories? […] Why archive this? Why these investments in paper, in ink, in characters? […] Does this merit printing?'[86] The BFI attempts to answer these questions in their acquisition and disposal policy, which outlines criteria for what films the BFI collects, why, and when. They write,

> We aim to collect all British films certified for cinema exhibition. We will also collect a selection of other fiction, factual and documentary films, television programmes and other materials that exemplify the art of filmmaking (broadly defined), its history – including both use and form – and its impact on and relationship to the people of the UK.[87]

[85] Ibid., p. 11.
[86] Derrida, p. 9.
[87] BFI, 'BFI Collection Policy', p. 6.

As a researcher, I have made a selection of the archives and museums I will visit. I have chosen which collections to purchase, or view, and from these collections, I have settled on a final selection of texts to include in my thesis. I have selected from a selection. Like the BFI, my own rules for selection include national criteria: the key texts in this thesis are all British.

My own selection focuses on texts that present a history of British fashion film, and also its relationship to the fashion industry. Additional criteria specific to this project are as follows: each of the texts selected in this thesis has a relationship with fashion promotion. All are presented in formats traditionally classed as non-fiction. They have each originated to some extent from state-interest and influence, and therefore are related to political decision-making. Most importantly, the texts selected for analysis each perpetuate mythologised tales of national heritage through stories of Britain's fashion industry.

Applying the above criteria in my research across archives resulted in a vast array of material from a variety of sources. For this reason, I have narrowed the selection with further criteria. All of the key texts in this thesis are available to the public either on DVD or online. They have therefore each undergone a comparable level of selection. The only exceptions to this rule are the complete live recordings of the 2011 royal wedding broadcast on BBC and ITV, accessed at the BFI. However, analysis of these texts forms part of a wider discussion on edited DVD highlights of the day, which could not be addressed without reference to the original content. The EC film heritage policy argues, 'Increased

cultural availability of heritage films and increased education on European film culture can only result in increased interest and demand for European films, both new and "old"'.[88] Because I am looking at the relationship between historical and contemporary texts and the dialogue between them, I have specifically selected historical films that curators, programmers, and archival institutions have already selected for making available in the public sphere, accessible to contemporary audiences.

The wartime, post-war, and post-2008 periods share a particular dialogue as moments of economic change, with shifts in global markets following periods of austerity instigated by wartime rationing, and the 'Great Recession'.[89] As we can see in a range of contemporary national events and public broadcasts, Britain is currently attempting to reinvent itself, using the same tropes and stories it used in the post-war period to promote itself on a world stage. The late forties and early fifties saw the royal wedding of Princess Elizabeth II to Prince Philip, the birth of Prince Charles, heir to the British throne, the Queen's Coronation, and the London Olympic Games 1948. Recent history among 2011 – 2015 recorded the royal wedding of Prince William to Kate Middleton, the Queen's Diamond Jubilee Celebration, the births of Prince George, heir to the British throne, and Princess Charlotte, and the 2012 London Olympic Games. Narratives of British identity are told in both periods through the institutional stories of news broadcasts and museum exhibitions. In 1946, the Victoria and Albert museum in London (V&A) presented the *Britain Can Make It* exhibition, 'established by central government in 1944 "to promote by all practicable means the

[88] European Commission, p. 23.
[89] Heath.

improvement of design in the products of British industry"'.[90] In 2012, the same museum curated an exhibition entitled *British Design: 1948-2012*, which promotes the way 'the country continues to nurture artistic talent and be a world leader in creativity and design'.[91] A direct comparison can hence be made between these two moments as influential periods for Britain's international public relations amidst national economic crises. Both periods use national events as platforms from which to tell common stories of British identity based on royal lineage, national heritage, and design consumption.

Sue Harper gives a useful analogy describing a multi-layered approach to national identity, constructed of images both past and present. She writes,

> On a hot day I found a dry ditch traversing a field diagonally; after scrambling down into it, my head was at the level of the grass. As I progressed, I saw the five feet of earth which lay beneath the grass, and I noted the different textures and colours of soil and rock. Suddenly I realized that both present and past were like the grass, and that an incredibly complex combination of historical elements was hidden beneath the world of cultural forms.[92]

The shifting images of Britain's fashion landscape today are supported by a 'complex combination of historical elements' that exists as traces within the forms of contemporary culture. Like the 'textures and colours of soil and rock', the mythologies and ideals propagated through past media texts underpin current ideologies, reinforced through the perpetuating 'world of cultural forms'.

---

[90] Elizabeth Darling, 'Exhibiting Britain: Display and National Identity 1946-1967', (V&A), http://www.vads.ac.uk/learning/designingbritain/html/bcmi_intro.html, [accessed: 29.03.12].
[91] 'British Design 1948-2012: Innovation in the Modern Age', (2011),V&A exhibition, <http://www.vam.ac.uk/content/exhibitions/exhibition-british-design/> [accessed: 29.03.12].
[92] Harper, *Picturing the Past,* p. 1.

The narratives of past and present media texts are also brought together within the 'housing' process of the archive, described by Derrida. The BFI holds a Research Viewing Service from where it is possible to make an appointment to view films that have not been digitised for contemporary consumption (usually for a fee). This can include both feature films and media material such as news broadcasts. The BFI also has a new pilot scheme, where for the last few years they have recorded all digital television output (including 2011 royal wedding coverage), which can be viewed, again, by appointment. Archivists here collect contemporary footage for the benefit of future researchers, meaning that material broadcast in 2011 and 2012 is included in the BFI's archival collection, alongside information films of the forties.

Patrick Wright articulates the relationship between narratives new and old: 'Even when they are told of times past, stories are judged and shaped by their relevance to what is happening now, and in this sense their allegiance is unashamedly to the present'.[93] Selected for digitisation in the twenty-first century, historical films form part of today's heritage storytelling. They have been selected at the same time as programmes were being written for the 2011 royal wedding, and the 2012 Olympic Games. As Sue Harper argues, 'History can carry an infinite range of meanings, and societies regularly reformulate it for current use'.[94] Present day values produce and prism views of the past, reinforcing historical narratives through endless repetition and replication in the support of current agendas.

[93] Patrick Wright, p. 15.
[94] Harper, *Picturing the Past*, p. 1.

In transfer to digital, archival films are re-packaged and re-contextualised for contemporary audiences with introductory sections, booklets, and DVD covers, designed as contextual information for viewers watching the films at home. DVD and online editions of twentieth-century films are, in a sense, new: reproductions of the original physical films, which lose their historical specificity in the transfer to digital. Digital versions of historical films are also, to an extent, global storytellers. The EC acknowledges the potential of 'digital projection' to present 'heritage films beyond the cinematheques'.[95] Technically they can be accessed anywhere, by anyone. Removed from the confines and restrictions of the physical national archive, they can transcend national borders and circulate around the world.

The BFI discuss digitisation and the 'migration to new formats' as a form of 'conservation', 'to protect the collections from deterioration and damage, so that they can be used both now and in the future'.[96] They have a YouTube channel presenting a selection of short film material for this purpose. Since 2009, collections of post-war information films owned by a range of institutions including British Pathé and the BFI have been digitised and published on DVD. In *The Language of New Media* (2001), Lev Manovich writes, 'the computer media revolution affects all stages of communication, including acquisition, manipulation, storage, and distribution; it also affects all types of media – texts, still images, moving images, sound, and spatial constructions'.[97] As it has been digitised, there is the potential the film has been visually or audibly enhanced, or cut or edited in some way. Traces of these edits and enhancements are not visible

[95] European Commission, p. 19.
[96] BFI, 'BFI Collection Policy', p. 4.
[97] Lev Manovich, *The Language of New Media* (Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press, 2001), p.19.

on the digital copy, meaning we cannot be sure how much has been changed. Questions surrounding archival definition come to the fore here. What is it that makes a document an archival document? If an original hand written letter has been typed up, scanned in or photocopied, is the photocopy or scan an archival document? Or is it only the hand written original that can be defined as such? The words of the typed up copy are still presenting archival content, but how does this affect our relationship with the physical piece of paper on which the words are printed? Similarly, in relation to the photocopy or scan, can a digital filmic copy be classed as an archival text, in the same way as the original physical film reel? These are questions that surround the issue of the digital archive where arguably nothing is authentic, if by this we mean in its physical form.

The Tale is Incomplete

Before archives can be accessed, prior research of archival catalogues is needed to ascertain what collections the archive holds, and what each collection contains. It is then necessary to make certain predictions about which folders or films may be useful to view. Carolyn Steedman speaks of the historian's fever, 'You know you *will not finish*, that there will be something left unread, unnoted, untranscribed'.[98] Some relevant material may be missed, unrequested, undiscovered in an unopened box. This is almost inevitable, no matter how careful or thorough the researcher attempts to be. In addition to the practical

[98] Carolyn Steedman, *Dust* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001), p. 18. Emphasis as in original.

consideration of time restraints, the archive itself is also incomplete. Steedman continues,

> The Archive is not potentially made up of *everything*, as is human memory; and it is not the fathomless and timeless place in which nothing goes away that is the unconscious. The Archive is made from selected and consciously chosen documentation from the past and also from the mad fragmentations that no one intended to preserve and that just ended up there.[99]

Even if devoured in full, the archive (be this an archive of paper or of film) does not tell a complete story. In this sense, the archive is a 'place of dreams',[100] of fantasy narratives conjured by hints, clues, and suggestions, leaving the researcher to try and fill in the gaps.

The BFI draws a distinction between 'mediated' and 'unmediated' archive access. While 'mediated' access includes events such as the *Brit Chic* archive screening night discussed above, 'well suited to presenting works and groups of works thematically and providing audiences with signposts and pathways to help them engage with both […] subject and […] collection', unmediated access 'enables users with some subject knowledge to explore […] collections in their own way'.[101] In the case of this project, 'mediated' access inspired 'unmediated' access. However, even the self 'unmediated' version of archival study remains to some extent mediated. The BFI explain, 'Often the only access that we can provide without rights clearance is for individual researchers, on BFI premises'.[102] My own experience of accessing archives

[99] Ibid., p. 68. Emphasis as in original.
[100] Ibid., p. 69.
[101] BFI, 'BFI Collection Policy', p. 31.
[102] Ibid., p. 29.

involves sitting in an assigned room at a designated desk, being handed archival boxes by an archivist a few at a time. My research is contingent on the order the boxes are handed to me, and the time of day I view each box. Unintentionally, more attention is paid to the boxes viewed at the beginning of each research session than those viewed before lunch when the thought of food has become a distraction, or at the end of the day, when I am tired. I am also arbitrarily limited by the handwriting I can and cannot read. Working through the presented boxes happens within regimented time slots governed by the reading room's opening hours, monitored by the archivist on duty. The room is always quiet, and often brightly lit, with the soft hum of strip lights. As a researcher, I often felt watched over, leaving a feeling of awkwardness and discomfort. There is something significant about touching the original document, of that physical contact with history. However, digital archives have a way of feeling more alive, with public comment feeds, links to further content, and the ability to bookmark, print, or highlight. The online, digital archiving experience is one that can be shared and discussed. Research in a physical archive is, on the other hand, more akin to solitary confinement. There are moments when the researcher may feel that they have made a miraculous discovery, perhaps one that no researcher has made before, that makes them want to jump and exclaim about their finding. This level of celebration is not possible. Talking in archival reading rooms is often not allowed, and neither is the removal of archival documents from the room for discussion outside. The institution of the archive institutionalises the process of archival research, and to some extent, manipulates the outcome.

In their film collection policy, the BFI talk about working with partner organisations to collect, preserve, and provide access to British film.[103] These organisations include national museums and institutions such as The British Library, the BBC, The Imperial War Museum, The National Archives, The National Media Museum, Tate, and the Victoria & Albert museum. Together, these institutions 'establish protocols […] to ensure that our moving image history and heritage is maintained whilst minimizing duplication or competition'.[104] They combine their authority and work together to tell one coherent story. This section of the BFI film collection policy supports Derrida's assertion that the archive is institutional; here is an example of multiple institutions sharing one unified objective and vision to collaborate their archives to present a particular story to the world. However, no matter how many institutions collaborate, this story will never be complete. The BFI acknowledge they cannot aim 'to create a complete record of UK moving image production or consumption'.[105] National institutions are, to some extent, restricted by the same limitations of archival documentation as the academic scholar. Just as it is impossible for collections such as the BFI to form a complete record, so it is non-viable to formulate an exhaustive, historically accurate history from their archives.

Resonant with Foucault's ideas on a 'general' history, the history of the non-fiction British fashion film was indeed dispersed, found hidden in a range of archives, museums, and websites as described earlier in this chapter. In the back of my mind were the constant questions of what I could not find, what had not

[103] Ibid, p. 7.
[104] Ibid.
[105] Ibid.

been selected for me to view, and why? Derrida confronts the archival 'trouble of secrets, of ploys, of clandestineness, of half-private, half-public conjurations, always at the unstable limit between public and private, between the family, the society, and the State'.[106] In making my own selection I had an objective, just as the selectors before me. My agenda looks to explore the notion that the texts in this study invite consideration as a continuum across decades of media forms from the forties to the present day.

Foucault states, 'the archive of a society, a culture, or a civilization cannot be described exhaustively; or even, no doubt, the archive of a whole period'.[107] I am by no means claiming to be presenting a 'total' or complete history of the non-fiction British fashion film. I am presenting a version of history, based on the research I have conducted and the choices I have made. In a way, I have selected from an official selection, suggesting that my history is, to some extent, an official one. The narrative I tell is also influenced by the screen shots I have selected to include, the precise moments I have selected for each screen grab. Through image selection, I am in a way selecting and capturing my own fashion moments. I am working between the film archive, the paper archive, and additional, socio historical accounts (probably themselves constructed through archives) to tell an incomplete story. Nevertheless, it is an incomplete story that has not previously been told, and herein lies the value of the analysis in this thesis.

[106] Derrida, p. 90.
[107] Foucault, p. 146.

There is the argument that reproaches historiography by asking how else we are to know history if not through representation and selection? If one accepts that official archives are constructed narratives, subjectively created by institutions in power, does this mean they should not be studied? It is possible I am here suffering from Derrida's *mal d'archive* as I look for an origin of the films, a primary instigation or purpose, and a totalised meaning. Yet the very fact that these films are representations and therefore the result of specific choices and careful decision-making processes by those in power is a reason why I find them so intriguing. The choices made in the past can be analysed to answer questions about why we privilege certain fashion moments and motifs in British history, and why their stories continue to be replicated in cultural texts to this day.

Cultural Iconography in the Non-Fiction British Fashion Film

Whilst researching the texts explored in this thesis I noted the repetition of perpetuated national stereotypes, some predictable and clichéd, across the span of historical and contemporary media. Having identified this trend, I began to look for it in further texts. These include frequent references to the red London bus, Savile Row, the 'Swinging Sixties', the royal family and the Union Jack. This 'shorthand iconography of location', referred to by Charlotte Brunsdon as 'landmark London', 'allows film-makers to indicate that their stories, or particular parts of their story, are set in London'.[108] At first glance these over repetitious, familiar icons perhaps appear stale and obvious. Patrick Wright talks

[108] Charlotte Brunsdon, *London in Cinema: The Cinematic City Since 1945* (London: British Film Institute, 2007), p. 21.

about nation as an 'inclusive symbol'.[109] He writes, 'The rags and tatters of everyday life take on the lustre of the idealized nation when they are touched by its symbolism'.[110] This concept of an 'idealized nation' is very much present in the texts interrogated here, which present a form of national, London-centric utopia promoted by the British government, a fantasy based on oft-repeated language and imagery akin to the reiteration of narrative symbols in fairy tale. The non-fiction British fashion film has an interest, and investment, in drawing together a specific collection of references that culminate in one overarching narrative of British fashion, that coincides with state policy and the official objectives of national institutions. The reiterated tales and repeated symbols throughout the genre reflect the memorable structures of fairy tales, which continuously recycle the same narrative tropes and visual icons.

In the case of national promotion in non-fiction British fashion film, a lot of these symbols may seem obvious and hence unworthy of critical attention. However, it is also possible that the icons are so obvious to viewers that we no longer notice their presence, or question their meaning. They become invisible. Brunsdon writes, 'In using these recognisable images, a film both refers to the urban imaginary of a specific city and also stages it, contributing to the many images, characters and tales that constitute urban imaginary'.[111] When looked at closely, it becomes clear that whilst these icons reproduce the past, they also contribute to shifting ideals of national identity at significant historical junctures. Each undergoes its own subtle and yet significant transformation through the chronology of these films that allows us further insight into changing state

[109] Patrick Wright, p. 25.
[110] Ibid.
[111] Brunsdon, *London in Cinema*, p. 21.

attitudes towards the national fashion industry and its role in Britain's heritage narratives.

The British royal family in particular plays a central role in many of the texts included in this genre. The family's significance in these films lies in the interplay between their dual identity as national icons of historical lineage, and fairy tale figures. In his first portraits of Elizabeth Bowes-Lyon as Queen Consort in 1939, royal photographer Cecil Beaton portrayed her as a fantasy figure straight out of a storybook.

> [He] transformed her from a demure mother into a glamorous fairy queen. In front of his lens, she became a romantic, ethereal figure, gliding through the Palace gardens and gracefully posing in grand interiors, or against lavishly painted backdrops, surrounded by blooms of roses, lilies and hydrangeas.[112]

The romantic image of a queen as seen in fairy tales has influenced Beaton's presentation of a real Queen. The 'lavishly painted backdrops' present a constructed image, and bring to mind the illustrations of children's fantasy fiction. This portrait is also positioned as the 'after' image of transformation, the 'magic […] aura and mysterious glamour' that is endowed on her as an effect of her transition into Queen.[113] As a royal portrait, this image influences the viewer's perception of the royal family, in a combined media narrative of both fairy tale and history. Describing Diana Spencer's wedding to the Prince of Wales in 1981, Nicholas Courtney writes, 'its origins were an illusory fairy tale.

[112] Susanna Brown, *Queen Elizabeth II: Portraits by Cecil Beaton* (London: V&A Publishing, 2011), pp. 22-23.
[113] Ibid., p. 6.

Add to that, the traditions of a thousand years of monarchy'.[114] Royal history refers to mythology, combining a fact inspired narrative with fairy tale fantasy.

As the film and television texts progress across the decades, we also see an increasing attempt to customise the Union Jack flag in certain contexts, often through the use of colour, to make it more fashionable. This has two results. Firstly, a traditional icon is modernised and made fashionable. At the same time, a fashionable icon is presented as having a heritage, an authenticity and legitimacy symbolised by allusion to the original flag. In a sense, the relationship between tradition and fashion in the iconography of the Union Jack represents the themes of the non-fiction British fashion film genre. The films present a fashionable version of an established nation, legitimised by references to heritage icons. Fashion is used to promote Britain, whilst recognisable symbols of Britain's heritage are used to promote British fashion. Audiences are reassured that, beneath its fashion makeovers, Britain's traditional identity remains, just as the customised Union Jack continues to be identifiable as the national flag. The combined identification of the Union Jack as a symbol of both the past and future becomes particularly clear in the final chapter of this thesis, which looks at BBC live television coverage of the London 2012 Olympic Games.

The majority of texts explored here are about women's fashion, and focus on a female subject. Despite this, many have male narrators. There is a little discussion of male dress choices at the royal wedding in Chapter 5, but the main focus is on women. Similarly, fairy tale transformations as discussed in Chapter

[114] Nicholas Courtney, *Diana, Princess of Wales* (London: Park Lane Press, 1982), p. 39.

1 tend to have a female subject, although there are exceptions as shown in the character of *Aladdin*, who 'transforms' from a peasant into a prince through a change of clothes.[115] As a pastime associated with escapism, leisure time, and hence frivolity, cinema was traditionally dismissed as 'insignificant and unworthy of critical or academic attention […] [as a form] of popular culture enjoyed by women'.[116] According to Jackie Stacey, this preoccupation with a female audience may be explained by the relationship between fashion and consumption. Stacey writes:

> [I]t has been argued that the cinema industry (linked as it was with other consumer industries) has always addressed its female spectators as consumers more generally. Some critics have made the argument that because of the central role of the spectator as a consumer, and because it was women who were primarily addressed as consumers [during the fifties and the development of Hollywood cinema], a case can be made that the cinema spectator was increasingly envisaged as female.[117]

As a consumer industry implicated in a discourse of physical beauty and outer appearance, it makes sense therefore for these texts, as part of the cinema tradition in Britain, to address women as their primary consumers, working to shape women's perceptions of their own identities, and the roles society expects them to play.

As discussed throughout this chapter, the intertextual nature of the non-fiction British fashion film is constructed and written in this thesis through access to a combination of film, television, and paper archives. Caroline Steedman describes archives as tellers of fairy tales:

---

[115] *Aladdin*, dir. by Ron Clements and John Musker (Walt Disney, 1992).
[116] Stacey, *Star Gazing,* p. 90.
[117] Ibid., p. 85.

> "[O]nce upon a time" is the rhetorical mode: the unspoken starting point of the written history. The grammatical tense of the archive is not then, the future perfect, not the conventional past historic of English-speaking historians […] but the syntax of the fairy-tale…"once there was", "in April 1751"…"once *upon* a time… in the summer of 1995".[118]

Steedman here acknowledges that archives tell stories of history, which adhere to a form of timelessness like the 'no time' of fairy tales discussed in Chapter 1. The documents are fixed in the archive as moments are fixed in film, telling stories of forgotten people and places that no longer exist. They perhaps never truly existed in the way the archive presents them, and are instead simply representational fantasies conjured through a carefully edited selection of documents. According to Steedman, archival stories are about transformation, 'the movement and transmutation of one thing into another', and follow the same cyclical processes as mortality, and the fashion system, of 'circularity, [and] the impossibility of things disappearing, or going away, or being gone'.[119] The same tales are endlessly repeated, in a timeless cycle as researchers continue to revisit the same archives century after century. However, the interpretation of these narratives may shift slightly in the context of their reading, and the story told may change with the discovery of new documents. As this thesis argues, a reading of contemporary royal wedding coverage shifts when considered in relation to archival newsreel coverage of early twentieth-century royal weddings. Early newsreel coverage of royal weddings also takes on an altered significance, when approached in relation to contemporary television broadcasting. Analysis of Pathé cinemagazines, viewed on a DVD in 2012, will provide a different reading to one conducted in 1943, when the texts were being shown on cinema

[118] Steedman, p. 150.
[119] Ibid., p. 164.

screens. This thesis presents one particular narrative reading of these texts, which will exist alongside alternative readings with conflicting agendas, stemming from a range of disciplines. However, the narrative traced in this thesis has been previously untold, which is what makes it worth writing.

3

British Pathé from 'Service' to 'Civvy Street'

This chapter examines the national fashion stories told by British Pathé in the first half of the twentieth-century. As analysis will show, women's fashion has been promoted on British screens since the earliest days of the British film industry, demonstrating the perhaps surprising significance of fashion film as one of cinema's oldest traditions. As part of Britain's screen heritage, it is necessary to include this longstanding history of filmic fashion promotion in discussions surrounding the generic origins of British fashion film.

The chapter begins by introducing the relationship between fashion, film, and politics, as negotiated in an early body of newsreels and cinemagazines. Analysis then focuses on a collection of fashion films made by British Pathé during, and post-World War Two, when state interest in the British fashion industry became particularly prominent. As Janet McCabe writes, 'Self transformation helped women to negotiate an unsettling and austere present during wartime, and to resist the post-war conservative drive to dragoon them back into the home while responding to the new consumer boom and "Americanisation" of British culture'.[1] The making over of clothes, and later, the self, is part of the national makeover of Britain, as a wartime, and following, post-war nation. The major national and global event of the Second World War initiated and necessitated the re-thinking of productivity, labour, and gender in British society, acting as a platform for stories that presented narratives of

[1] McCabe, *Feminist Film Studies*, p. 50.

transformation through fashion to further the British war effort, and help regenerate an unstable post-war economy. This chapter investigates the specific precedence afforded to fashion amidst narratives of war, with tales of possibility and accessibility directed at a national female audience.

This chapter also introduces the relationship between women and fashion in ideological state-sponsored messages. In response to concerns regarding the contradiction between femininity and service (discussed by Antonia Lant and outlined in Chapter 1), the War Office attempted to incorporate notions of glamour into the image of women at work. The enticing, glamorous image of British femininity was seen as a vital part of morale boosting for British troops. At the same time, campaigns aimed at recruiting British women to the national workforce had an obligation to present attainable images of British femininity that real women could relate to, that were just glamorous enough for women to aspire towards. This dichotomy led to the state-sponsored image of the 'beauty on duty', represented in this chapter, who embodied the notion of glamour as a patriotic pursuit. Female activities previously dismissed as trivial were re-contextualised as essential, even militant behaviours, political acts for the British war effort.

This state-funded depiction of femininity as a 'double life', suspended between reality and fantasy, duty and glamour, tied women to the home front and, inadvertently to the nation, foregrounding the domestic environment as a national space. Domestic activities such as growing vegetables or darning socks were presented as acts of patriotism, familiar daily routines that fought to survive in the face of national chaos. Through these images perpetuated in film, the

individual woman was encouraged to 'recognize her role in the crisis'.[2] To this end, films were commandeered as platforms from which the state could appeal to female sensibilities, and speak to their responsibilities as national subjects. The films discussed in this chapter each attempt to engage with women through the use of a disembodied male voice over, representing the voice of patriarchal authority instructing a female population on how to behave. Lant addresses the 'difficulty of addressing and reaching women directly in a medium and culture that conventionally speaks to women through men, that builds her self-image inside a masculine frame'.[3] She observes the resulting tendency for authoritative male voices to address women through the accepted accoutrements of femininity, as a way to acknowledge women's significant contribution, whilst reassuring their male counterparts of their continued femininity. In the films studied here, women's contribution to the British war effort is explicitly addressed through a gendered discourse of fashion and beauty.

Shifts in female identity are here navigated through narratives of dress and fashion transformation in the same way as shifts in national identity. Fashion is chosen as the subject not only because of its links with change and transformation, but also as a safe way of approaching and representing changes in femininity. As Lant writes, the 'multitude of wartime femininities' imposed onto women in British film, 'her overall, her pitchfork, and other accessories of her new socio-economic place', became 'fetishised facts of her patriotism' that 'came to overshadow her material contribution'.[4] War stimulates changes in

[2] Lant, p. 5.
[3] Ibid., p. 91
[4] Ibid., p. 218.

femininity and the image of the 'mobile' woman, whilst fighting to resist and reduce these changes as far as possible through a miniaturising rhetoric of appearance, and stereotyped, pre-war femininity. This fashion moment, suspended between uniform and glamour and embodied through these films, is not only navigating and negotiating a national crisis. It is also navigating and negotiating a gender crisis, which infiltrates the stability of British national identity. The negotiation of these crises is navigated in these films, using fairy tale as a vehicle to guide and instruct an army of British women.

As this chapter demonstrates, British Pathé made a collection of fashion-focused film materials during and immediately following the Second World War, that utilised the form and function of the fairy tale genre as a codified moral educator intended to influence the behavior of the British public (in particular, British women). The films discussed share a contradictory combination of helpful ritual narratives, and prescriptive ideological government concerns, in state-sponsored fantasies that draw on the generic patterns of fairy tale narratives. This culture of warning and advice, disseminated through film at a time of conflict, is indicative of Maria Tatar's concern regarding the potential of fairy tales to shape our 'values, moral codes and aspirations'.[5] The fairy tale's simplistic duality between good and evil discussed in Chapter 1, makes a fitting format for wartime messages, as does the overarching theme, set out by Bettelheim, of 'the fulfillment of wishes, the winning out over all competitors, [and] the destruction of enemies'.[6] Ideas of hope and consolation and the theme of rebirth are also useful tropes in wartime narratives that work to boost morale

[5] Tatar, 'Introduction', p. xii.
[6] Bettelheim, pp. 35-36.

by looking to the future, and the return of peace. The structure of Pathé's forties fashion films follows Bettelheim's observation, outlined in Chapter 1, that transformation narratives in fairy tales 'concentrate on the process of change'.[7] Transformations in Pathé's fashion stories mirror changes in national life, setting up significant moments of transition in British identity as fashion moments. The presentation of fashion changes over the course of a decade, from a non-essential consumable that can be created at home from recycled fabric in wartime, to an aspirational symbol of commerce in peacetime. These shifting approaches to fashion are reproduced and encouraged in a collection of Pathé films, to support changing political strategies, and to adapt to transitions in national, and gendered identity formation.

The British Pathé Newsreel

British Pathé is a commercial film company that began as a UK newsreel arm of French organisation Compagnie Générale des Etablissements Pathé Frères Phonographes & Cinématographes (or CGPC), set up in London in 1910. In this year, they produced the first UK newsreel, a bi-weekly series of short news items recorded in moving image titled the Pathé Gazette.[8] The UK branch shared this footage with French and American newsreel arms of the CGPC. From 1918 onwards, the CGPC began to be split into different divisions. As part of this process, the UK film production office and newsreel office were sold to First National, becoming known as First National-Pathé in 1927. This period of transition is described on the British Pathé website as a 'complicated process by

[7] Ibid., p. 73.
[8] British Pathé, 'About Us', <http://www.britishpathe.com/pages/about> [accessed 07.08.2014].

which the UK newsreel company became divorced from its overseas parent and sister companies […]. Pathé-branded newsreel and film production in the UK was now on its own'.[9] Warner Brothers purchased First National in 1931, and sold the Pathé newsreel and feature film arms to British International Pictures in 1933. At this point, it became known as Associated British-Pathé. After the Second World War, Associated British-Pathé re-joined forces with the French Pathé Journal, and the American Pathé News Inc. to pool their resources 'in order to enable news to be more easily distributed worldwide'. From 1946 – 1970, Pathé Gazette became known as *Pathé News*.[10]

In the first half of the twentieth-century, Pathé newsreels were screened in picture houses as part of the cinema programme before the main feature. They are described on the British Pathé website as having been 'a dominant feature of the British cinema experience', and are credited (again by British Pathé) with establishing 'the benchmark for cinematic journalism'.[11] For the most part, newsreels meant that audiences could view and experience major events that would have been otherwise inaccessible.[12] Despite their being classified as news, the newsreels of this early period focused on providing entertaining content. In a 1971 Sunday Times magazine article, journalist Philip Norman describes 'headlines […] of mind-stupefying trivia', such as 'a man who tried to take flight

[9] British Pathé, 'History of British Pathé', britishpathe.com, <http://www.britishpathe.com/pages/history> [accessed 29.06.2015].
[10] Ibid. Emphasis as in original.
[11] Ibid.
[12] Robert Humfrey, 'The News-Reel Cameraman', in *Yesterday's News* [first published in Robert Humfrey, *Careers in Films*, (London: Sir Isaac Pitman & Sons, 1938)] pp. 116-20 (p. 116).

with rockets attached to his trousers'.[13] In the newsreels of the early twentieth-century, British Pathé was blurring the lines between news and entertainment.

The newsreels also contain fictional elements. They have a reputation for editing the truth, and faking footage where necessary. Philip Norman gives an interesting anecdote on this topic from 1910:

> One […] [cinema] in Liverpool […] [was] able to show a film of Edward VIIs funeral only seconds after the cortege had arrived at Westminster Abbey. Few people noticed that the late King was riding behind his own coffin looking fat and well – the sequence was of Victoria's funeral.[14]

Removed from its original context, this image is transformed into fiction, an illusion designed to hoodwink audiences. Crossovers between fiction and non-fiction, storytelling and news media, are not isolated to the newsreels of the early nineteen-hundreds. As demonstrated in Andrew Buchanan's 1947 description of actors in newsreels, generic boundaries continued to be obscured well into the post-war period.

> [They] look everywhere *but* into the camera for if they didn't, in error, they would be looking at *you*, and how ridiculous it would be if Bing Crosby or Charles Laughton suddenly looked at *you* during a film, instead of at the other characters on the screen! [15]

According to the BUFVC edited book *Yesterday's News*, reconstruction in newsreels is a representational device that began in the early nineteen-

[13] Philip Norman, 'The Newsreel Boys', p. 10.
[14] Ibid., p. 3.
[15] Andrew Buchanan, *Going to the Cinema* second revised edn. (London: Phoenix House Limited, 1951) [first published in 1947], pp. 105-06. Emphass as in original.

hundreds.[16] The event is transformed into a re-enactment, or representation, of the event. The involvement of actors playing roles draws reconstruction further towards the realms of fiction, demonstrated by the relationship they have with feature film stars in Buchanan's description. The entertaining content of the Pathé newsreel often makes it difficult to distinguish from the Pathé cinemagazine, discussed below.

A Budding Romance Between British Pathé and British Fashion

Cinemagazines were ten minute pieces focusing on topical subjects pertaining to the 'frivolous' and the 'bizarre',[17] with a similar look and format to the newsreels. The introduction to Pathé's DVD collection *Fabulous Fashions of the 1940s: The British Pathé Cinemagazine* explains, 'Less serious than the Pathé newsreel, it was the perfect forum for the display of dresses, skirts, hats, shoes, handbags, and all the other accoutrements necessary for the well turned out woman'.[18] Pathé produced a number of different cinemagazines from the early twentieth-century through to the late sixties. One of its best known is *Eve's Film Review*, a series that showcased subjects such as fashion and beauty, targeted towards a female audience. This series of ten-minute episodes ran from 1921-1933 and was hugely popular, marking an important point in the relationship between cinemagazines and female fashion consumption. This relationship was defined by changing gender politics, and the consumer 'feminine ideal', as Jenny Hammerton explains,

---

[16] *Yesterday's News*.
[17] Hammerton, 'Everything That Constitutes Life', p. 268.
[18] British Pathé, *Fabulous Fashions of the 1940s: The British Pathé Cinemagazine* (Cherry Red Films and Strike Force Entertainment, 2010).

> In defining female cinemagoers as the audience for *Eve's Film Review*, Path[é] were influenced by many debates of the time about what it was to be a woman. In the early 1920s the mass media were full of discussion about working women and the possibility of universal suffrage. Women's magazines flourished at this time, and the post-war period saw a recognition of women as a lucrative new spending force for consumer goods. Advertisements for clothes and cosmetics accompanied features on the same subjects, creating a distinct feminine ideal.[19]

Eve's Film Review is tied in with the empowerment of British women to become consumers, potential voters, and increasingly independent subjects. The initial focus on fashion and beauty in this cinemagazine series was born out of practicality. After the First World War and the loss of a large proportion of Britain's young male generation, the main cinema audience was women.[20] The release of *Eve's Film Review* began a trend for cinemagazines focusing on women's items. In deciding upon topics of interest, Pathé looked to women's print magazines of the time, and saw a strong emphasis on fashion.[21]

Eve at the Exhibition was filmed in Paris in 1931. It shows a group of women filmed in long shot, wearing 'pretty frocks', long, light, floral summer dresses that skim the body. They are holding sun parasols whilst relaxing in public gardens, sitting chatting on benches, and walking around exhibits.[22] These images create an association between fashion, women, and leisure time. In their early cinemagazines, British Pathé filmed moments of 'frivolous' female occupation,[23] and through filming, made them important, challenging traditional,

---

[19] Jenny Hammerton, *For Ladies Only? Eve's Film Review: Pathe Cinemagazine 1921-33* (Hastings: Projection Box, 2001), p. 14.
[20] Ibid., p. 11.
[21] Ibid., p. 12.
[22] *Eve at the Exhibition* (British Pathé, 1931).
[23] Hammerton, 'Everything That Constitutes Life', p. 268.

patriarchal perceptions about the roles of women and fashion in society. The camera follows the women as they pose for the camera, implying that they are actors or models rather than real women. Far from documenting spontaneous activity, this film has been constructed to purposefully present an image of women enjoying fashion at leisure. The final intertitle of the film reads, 'Filmy feminine clinging fashions – romantic backgrounds – what more does Eve wish for?'[24] As a 'wish' fulfillment narrative connecting fashion with romance, this film uses the desire principle to sell ideas of fashion and beauty to its female audience. It also acknowledges its own role in the creation of these 'filmy' fantasies. Following the question 'what more does Eve wish for?' the film shows the three women walking past the romantic background of a castle before the film ends. Is the 'more' that Eve wishes for, a fairy tale ending? Hammerton describes the fantasy narratives depicted in these early cinemagazines:

> Wish fulfillment fantasies featuring shop girls or clerks who suddenly found fame, fortune or romance were extremely popular with young working women in the 1920s. Cinema offered an escape from the daily toil and women could imagine themselves in the place of their on-screen heroines.[25]

These tales of wish fulfillment targeted at working class women draw on aspirations of social mobility, aligned with images of 'fame' and 'fortune'. They follow the class based, fairy tale transformation narrative of scullery maid to princess, pointing towards 'romance' as the fantasy climax. Like those fairy tales, the promotion of fashion and beauty in *Eve's Film Review* focuses on physical appearance as the vehicle to transformation. The idea of a glamorous

[24] *Eve at the Exhibition*.
[25] Hammerton, *For Ladies Only*, p. 12.

lifestyle filled with romance is presented as being achievable for all women through consumption. Hammerton explains, 'The name of Eve was used in the 1920s to symbolise "everywoman"'. [26] Drawn from the Biblical book of Genesis, she represents the original woman. Born of Adam, she also represents heterosexual coupling, the incentive of patriarchal romance depicted in traditional fairy tales. Presenting Eve as the 'everywoman', Pathé here suggests that women share a common desire. When Eve falls from grace in Genesis, her banishment from the Garden of Eden and transformation into a mortal being are depicted as punishments. However, the shame born of Eve's sin when she eats the forbidden fruit is manifested in a desire to cover her body, as well as to seduce men. In her book *From the Beast to the Blonde: On Fairy Tales and Their Tellers*, Marina Warner writes, 'Eve sinned by mouth: she bit into the apple of knowledge, she spoke to the serpent and to Adam, and she was in consequence cursed with desire, to kiss and be kissed ("Thy desire shall be to thy husband" (Gen. 3: 16))'.[27] In a way, Eve is blamed for creating clothes, but also, for the romantic coupling between a man and a woman.

From Eve To Everywoman! A Cavalcade of Fashion is an *Eve's Film Review* episode made in 1936.[28] Presenting historical costumes from the Sunderland House Exhibition in London, it traces a history of British fashion, beginning with the biblical figure of Eve, who wears a dress made to look as though it is constructed of leaves. The narrative then moves through the Stone Age, showing a woman in a dress designed to look like bark. The rest of the film

[26] Ibid., pp. 6-8.
[27] Marina Warner, *From the Beast to the Blonde: On Fairy Tales and Their Tellers* (London: Vintage, 1995), p. 31.
[28] *From Eve to Everywoman! A Cavalcade of Fashion* (British Pathé, 1936).

passes through the reigns of Kings Henry V, Henry VIII, Charles II, George I, George II, and Queen Victoria as fashion moments in British history, using the archetypal fairy tale figures of kings and queens to demarcate moments in time, as well as to represent changes in dress.

Each of the fashion moments in *From Eve to Everywoman* presents a female model in costume, designed to represent historical dress. The models are filmed in a mixture of long and mid shots, standing behind what looks like a picture frame. They are not wearing historic garments from the times in question, but items of clothing created to present an image of the past constructed through the stories of characters in history books. These characters are also de-contextualised, as reincarnations of Eve. The 'evolution of Eve' in this film uses a 'before' and 'after' format, presenting Eve's transformation into the 'modern woman' through a series of changing clothes.[29] Here, history is presented and narrated through a constructed character dressed in theatrical costumes, transforming the format of a factual historical account into the staged performance of a fictional tale.

The question of authenticity here corresponds with the generic discourse on contemporary reality television, in which terms such as 'infotainment',[30] 'hybrid docusoap',[31] and 'factual entertainment' [32] intersect genres of fiction and non-fiction, creating confusion as to what is real. The *Eve's Film Review* episode *Hats With a Tilt* made in 1932 refers to fashion as a fictional female character,

[29] Ibid.
[30] Rachel Moseley, 'Makeover Takeover on British Television', *Screen,* 41 (2000), 299-314 (p. 301).
[31] Ibid.
[32] Ibid., p. 309.

'Dame Fashion' who wears her hat tilted forward.[33] Rather than a device used to help tell other stories, fashion is the subject, or protagonist of this tale. As an industry that is associated with creativity, fashion is here presented as an outlet for original ideas, a product of the imagination.

Eve's Film Review's fashion stories mark an important turning point in the use of British film to promote British fashion to export markets. As Hammerton explains: 'The British edition of *Eve's Film Review* was […] exported, being seen as far afield as Egypt, Australia and the West Indies; the reel was even screened aboard some ocean liners'.[34] The seemingly light hearted and 'frivolous' items of *Eve's Film Review* took on a national and political importance, used to present an image of Britain to overseas markets. When *Eve's Film Review* finished in 1933, it was the last British weekly cinemagazine that would be made exclusively for women. However, its legacy continued throughout the next few decades in short items aimed at women within the more general cinemagazine programmes, labeled "Feminine Pictoralities".[35] With *Eve's Film Review*, British Pathé set a foundation for filmic items connecting women, fashion, and fantasy. The national and political significance of this relationship is demonstrated in the film propaganda material of the Second World War.

[33] *Hats with a Tilt* (British Pathé, 1932).
[34] Hammerton, *For Ladies Only*, p. 10.
[35] Hammerton, 'Everything That Constitutes Life', pp. 272-74.

Fashion Propaganda

The relationship between fashion and politics was solidified during the Second World War, as throughout Europe, fashions began to be adapted to reflect national changes owing to conflict, and to suit national interests. Handbag designs became 'roomy enough to accommodate gas masks',[36] jumpsuits were produced as 'suitable and smart attire' to wear in bomb shelters, and turbans appeared as 'fashionable and efficient coverings' for women to wear on their hair whilst conducting war work in industrial plants.[37] The *Daily Mirror* reported in September 1939 that a new hairstyle had been created in the West End of London called the "Gas Mask Curl", 'perfect for accommodating the main strap of the gas mask'.[38] Parisian fashion shows presented 'collection[s] […] openly inspired by militarism and patriotism' with colours titled 'Aeroplane Grey', 'Maginot Blue' and 'French Soil Beige'.[39] Similarly, the Textile Color Association of the United States developed a 'patriotic' 'pallet' of colours including 'Victory Gold', 'Gallant Blue', 'Valor Red', and 'Patriot Green', as part of a colour reduction campaign to preserve chemicals.[40] Fashion became a vehicle for national wartime propaganda. In Italy, Mussolini imposed linguistic regulations to claim fashion as a national narrative, banning 'words and expressions of foreign origin' from fashion discourse.[41] Rejecting the French influence on fashion language, the 'Italian dictionary of fashion' was published

[36] Valerie D. Mendes, and Amy De La Haye, *Fashion Since 1900* new edn. (London: Thames & Hudson, 2010) [first published as *20th Century Fashion* in 1999], p. 104.
[37] Jonathan Walford, *Forties Fashion: From Siren Suits to the New Look* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2008), p. 6.
[38] Ibid., p. 31.
[39] Ibid., p. 33.
[40] Ibid., p. 68.
[41] Ibid., p. 19.

in 1936.[42] Similarly in Germany, words with French roots were replaced with Germanic designations: "haute couture" became "Hauptmode", and "chic" was spelled "schick"'.[43] With the context of war having a direct impact on national fashions from practical, patriotic, and propagandist angles, fashion had a strong influence on national identity and international relations, making it an integral element of wartime policy. If propaganda is about storytelling, fashion is one of the first lines of defence.

From the beginning of the Second World War, changes in British consumption policies dramatically re-aligned the relationship between the consumer and the state.[44] In order to re-direct essential British resources to the war effort, policies were put in place to limit wasteful production and unnecessary civilian spending, and to control prices.[45] The regulation of the production and distribution practices of privately owned industries, including the textile and fashion industries meant they needed to be centrally controlled. In setting up the Utility Scheme in 1941, the Board of Trade was stating how raw materials were to be used and how clothing should be designed, with rules in place regulating the amount of detailing (including pockets) allowed on each item. These clothes were branded with the "CC41" label, for 'Controlled Commodity 1941'.[46] 'The word "Utility" was applied to garments made from Utility cloth, which was defined in terms of minimum quality levels (weight and

[42] Ibid.
[43] Ibid.
[44] Ina Zweiniger-Bargielowska, *Austerity in Britain: Rationing, Controls, and Consumption 1939-1945* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), p. 1.
[45] Ibid., pp. 46-47.
[46] Walford, p. 43.

fibre content per square yard) and maximum permitted retail prices'.[47] By the end of the war, eighty-five percent of clothing made in Britain held the Utility label.[48]

After strong discussion, the Board of Trade narrowly avoided fashion nationalisation in 1942.[49] However, the move in the structure of British industry from free market to centralised control meant that consumption had become a highly political practice. The successful control of consumption had major implications for the state of the British economy and the British war effort more generally. Rationing was a large part of the domestic British experience during the Second World War, and clothes rationing began in Britain in 1941.[50]

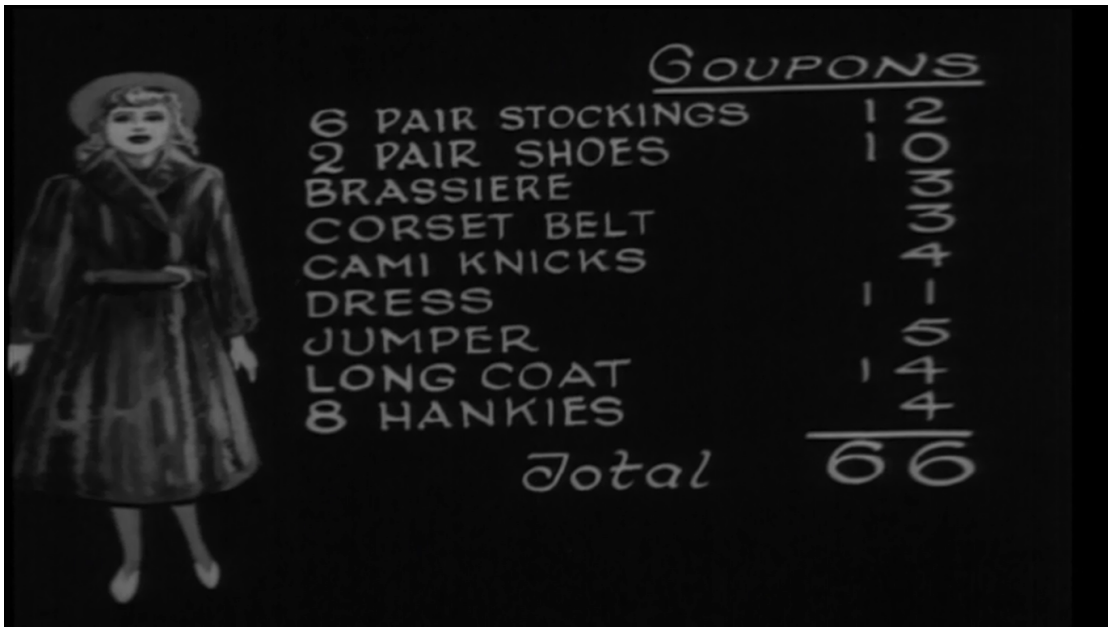

Figure 2: Sixty Six Clothing Coupons, *Rationed Rags* (British Pathé, 1942).

The *Make Do and Mend* campaign was used predominantly to refer to the re-use of clothing, with each man, woman, and child being issued only sixty six

[47] Mendes, and De La Haye, pp. 111-12.
[48] Walford, p. 43.
[49] Ibid., pp. 42-43.
[50] Zweiniger-Bargielowska, p. 45.

coupons per year at the start of the campaign (it later decreased), which was enough to purchase one complete outfit.[51]

This campaign however created tension with the widely publicised significance of female beauty to British morale. Red lipstick was seen as being particularly important to the war effort, and was subsequently one of the few luxuries the Board of Trade worked hard to keep in stock.[52] The promoted female character of the 'beauty on duty'[53] was unique to the Allied nations, and another reason to be proud of British values: 'From the outset the Allied nations asked women to play active roles in the industrial workforce, while maintaining morale by keeping up a feminine appearance'.[54] This opposition between wartime shortages and British morale boosting was glossed over by campaigns telling women how best to adapt to the system of clothes rationing, in order to retain their appealing appearance. As well as prominent women's magazines of the time including *Woman*, the main pioneers of these campaigns were newsreels and cinemagazines, shown as part of the cinema programme before the main feature.

During the Second World War, British Pathé was one of five commercial newsreels along with Gaumont British, Movietone, Paramount, and Universal. [55] Once the war was underway, the content of the newsreels became more serious. In addition, the newsreels became shorter due to wartime shortage of film stock,

---

[51] Jill Norman, 'Foreward', in *Make Do and Mend,* ed. by Jill Norman (London: Michael O'Mara Books, 2007), pp. 5-12 (p. 8).
[52] Walford, p. 8.
[53] Ibid., p. 94.
[54] Ibid., p. 91.
[55] Pronay, 'British Newsreels in the 1930s: Audience and Producers', p. 143.

adding additional value to the items that were actually screened.[56] Before the war there was great competition between newsreels.[57] However, during the war they laboured together on a rota system under the Newsreel Association of Great Britain, taking it in turns to film the best footage and sharing out the cost and labour at each event.[58] The grouping of the newsreels within one organisation also allowed central control of their activities. As part of their reputation for fakery, they were expected to edit events to prevent unnecessary lowering of morale. William Crofts gives a good example of this during wartime:

> During the war Arthur Greenwood, the coalition government Labour minister in charge of reconstruction, had suggested that the BBC should warn the nation about the difficulties that would be expected when the war ended. The suggestion was rejected because it would not have been good for morale.[59]

The media in this instance is implicated in political discourses about which stories to present to the nation to achieve the highest level of patriotism. Pontecorvo suggests that, in decreasing the amount of negative news about Britain, newsreels simultaneously increased coverage of alarming news from abroad, with the intention of making it feel safer in its remoteness from such events.[60]

---

[56] Gerald Sanger, 'We Lived in the Presence of History: The Story of British Movietone News in the War Years', in *Yesterday's News* [first written as an unpublished manuscript for a talk delivered c. 1946], pp. 163-70 (p. 170).
[57] Geoffrey Cox, *Pioneering Television News: A First Hand Report on a Revolution in Journalism* (Whitstable: Whitstable Litho Ltd, 1995), p. 14.
[58] Buchanan, p. 106.
[59] William Crofts, *Coercion or Persuasion?: Propaganda in Britain After 1945* (London: Routledge, 1989), p. 2.
[60] Lisa Pontecorvo, 'What is Newsreel?', in *Researcher's Guide to British Newsreels,* ed. by British Universities Film and Video Council (London: The Pitman Press, 1983), pp. 6-7 (p. 7).

In this period, cinemagazines continued to entertain, whilst imposing (less than subtle) moral guidelines, in line with government request.[61] It was a popular format for government-sponsored messages as it could impose an idea disguised as harmless fun, and messages could be projected in a simple way. The cinemagazines worked alongside the newsreels, using entertaining content to trivialise the nation's issues and to lift the mood. In this way, the cinemagazines were seen as providing their own important contribution to the British war effort. The same companies that made newsreels made cinemagazines, adding to the lack of distinction between entertainment and news media. Gaumont Mirror for instance acted as a lighthearted addition to Gaumont British.[62] Pathé also continued to produce both formats during the Second World War. While the majority of films I focus on here can be found on the DVD collection *Fabulous Fashions of the 1940s: The British Pathé Cinemagazine*,[63] many have 'Pathé News' title screens. On account of the lack of distinction in news and entertainment media during this time, I will refer to these films collectively as 'Pathé fashion films'.

Make Do and Mend

Bettelheim describes fairy tales as texts that enable their readers to 'transcend the narrow confines of a self-centered existence', encouraging them to 'make a significant contribution to life'.[64] This idea of commonality with others, and the widening of one's perspective towards a more social-centered existence form

[61] Hammerton, 'Everything That Constitutes Life', p. 268.
[62] British Universities Film and Video Council, 'A History of the British Cinemagazine', http://bufvc.ac.uk/wp-content/media/2009/06/cinemag_histw.pdf [accessed: 05.12.2011].
[63] *Fabulous Fashions of the 1940s*.
[64] Bettelheim, pp. 3-4.

part of the fairy tale's ability to help readers 'envision possible solutions to their problems', enabling them to successfully 'survive and adapt to their environments'.[65] According to Bettelheim, fairy tales promote the message,

> [T]hat a struggle against severe difficulties in life is unavoidable, is an intrinsic part of human existence – but that if one does not shy away, but steadfastly meets unexpected and often unjust hardships, one masters all obstacles and at the end emerges victorious.[66]

This ideology encourages readers to face up to challenges and fight against them, to struggle 'courageously against what seems like overwhelming odds' in order to triumph over adversity.[67] Comparisons can be drawn here to the privileging of hard work and communal female struggle promoted in a collection of domestic films made by British Pathé during the Second World War, that encouraged housewives to take up the government *Make Do and Mend* campaign.[68] Like the 'step by step' guidance Bettelheim identifies in the structure of a fairy tale in Chapter 1, these films take viewers through a process of cutting, sewing, and ironing, attempting to give 'help when it is needed'.[69] Consistent with the underlying message of Cinderella, 'of the humble being elevated, of true merit being recognized even when hidden under rags, of virtue rewarded and evil punished',[70] the wartime *Make Do and Mend* message promotes the true merit of female resourcefulness, patriotism, and contribution to the British war effort, recognised beneath recycled rags.

---

[65] Ibid., p. xii.
[66] Ibid., p. 8.
[67] Ibid.
[68] In this chapter, the phrase 'Make Do and Mend' is used both to refer to the title of a campaign, and to a promoted mentality. To distinguish, references to the campaign title are capitalised and italicised.
[69] Bettelheim, p. 11.
[70] Ibid., p. 239.

Pathé's *Make Do and Mend* films advised women on how to transform old garments into new outfits, in an attempt to save clothing coupons. In *S.O.S* 'for Save Old Scraps', Anne Edwards, editor of women's fashion magazine *Woman* shows female viewers how to turn old scraps of fabric into the latest fashions.[71] The film follows a 'before' and 'after' narrative, opening with an image of tired, unwanted scraps. Anne Edwards cuts and sews the scraps together onto a piece of net shaped as a waistcoat front. She trims the edges of the fabric, and applies a ribbon to attach around the waist. When the transformation is complete, Edwards models the finished waistcoat, along with other outfits she has created. A social mobility narrative using fabric scraps, the film promises that you too can go to the proverbial ball! This narrative is sold as one that is easy for anyone to follow. The narrator declares: 'if you're as bright as your bits of material, you can easily make yourself a natty little waistcoat, to wear under your costume coat'.[72] In this film, the life of the material is transformed.

The transformation of the fabric mirrors the transformation of Britain into a nation of austerity and rationing. As a form of national propaganda, it shows a hopeless beginning, a useless scrap, being given a future. Hopelessness is transformed into hope, and fashion provides possibility. The film is staged in a home environment. This is made clear through brief images of two sofas and a fireplace. These pieces of furniture are only shown in part, enough to represent a home, but not for us to gain much sense of style or cost. Other than this, the background is blank. Aimed at 'everywoman', like the Eve of *Eve's Film Review*

[71] *S.O.S* (British Pathé, 1942).
[72] Ibid.

considered earlier in this chapter, *S.O.S* is careful not to isolate viewers through limiting the appeal to a certain type of home environment. In a step towards class equality as part of the British war effort, Pathé's *Make Do and Mend* films are addressed inclusively to a nation of women. In this film, fashion brings hope and possibility into the everyday environment of the domestic space. However, as a staged set, the 'home' in this film is fictional, a representation of an imagined place. Pathé's fashion film here presents clearly drawn, typical figures in everyday domestic situations depicted through a short, simple narrative. Comparison can be drawn to the 'house for the Grimms and Disney', which, according to Jack Zipes, is 'the place where good girls remain', a 'shared aspect of the fairy tale and the film' that perpetuates the ideal of the domesticated woman.[73] However, Zipes' description of 'young women' in fairy tales as passive, 'helpless ornaments in need of protection' is to some extent contradicted by the underlying message of *Make Do and Mend*, and by the presentation of women's active struggle against wartime hardships, described above.[74]

Pathé's wartime fashion films predominantly set fashion mythologies in the home. In a film grouped under *Fashion Hints – Patchwork & Hats* on the *Fabulous Fashions* DVD, Anne Edwards turns a man's hat into two women's hats, one from the crown, and one from the brim. This fashion transformation narrative reflects changing gender politics. The adaptation of a male garment into a female accessory mirrors the shifting gender roles taking place, as women re-appropriated men's jobs with the masculine population away at war. However, the film's dialogue perpetuates the traditional concept that women's primary role

[73] Zipes, 'Breaking the Disney Spell', p. 348.
[74] Ibid. p. 349.

remains at home, in its domestic lexicon: 'the crown now looks something like an inverted frying pan without a handle'.[75] In wartime propaganda, the 'home' can easily be seen as a metaphor for nation, or homeland. This film describes the domestic makeover of clothes as women's work, 'attractive feminine touch' and 'a great victory for feminine enterprise'.[76] The military connotations of the term 'victory' also imply war work. Associated with the home, the woman is ideologically associated with the nation, positioned as a symbol of British resourcefulness and creativity, within the boundaries of a patriarchal family structure.

In addition to making films promoting the *Make Do and Mend* campaign, Pathé also made films commissioned by the Ministry of Information (MoI) during the Second World War. This government body had existed briefly in World War One, and was reinstated as a government film agency with the remit to construct 'plans for national propaganda and information'.[77] *Sensible Clothes Buying* from 1942 opens with the title screen 'MofI Government Official'.[78] It shows a woman in work overalls and a hair turban entering a sparsely furnished bedroom set. On top of a plain chest of drawers sit a wireless, a selection of books, a table lamp, a mirror and a bag of sewing thread. There is a rail of clothes against the wall, and a small wardrobe in the corner. The war worker removes her overalls and changes into a civilian suit, before beginning to make over the clothes in her wardrobe by sewing and ironing. Immediately at the film's opening, the worker is transformed into the familiar role of the housewife.

---

[75] *Fashion Hints - Patchwork & Hats* (British Pathé, 1942).
[76] Ibid.
[77] James Chapman, *The British at War: Cinema, State and Propaganda, 1939-1945* (London: I. B. Tauris, 1998), p. 41.
[78] *Sensible Clothes Buying* (British Pathé, 1942).

She irons and mends her clothes in the bedroom. The film does not show us any more of her home, presenting a room that could be part of a large house or a small flat, therefore mirroring the experience of a large viewer population, as in *S.O.S.*

The *Make Do and Mend* routine in *Sensible Clothes Buying* is interrupted by the sudden appearance of a doll dressed in clothing coupons, highlighting the state control of fashions and Utility branding.

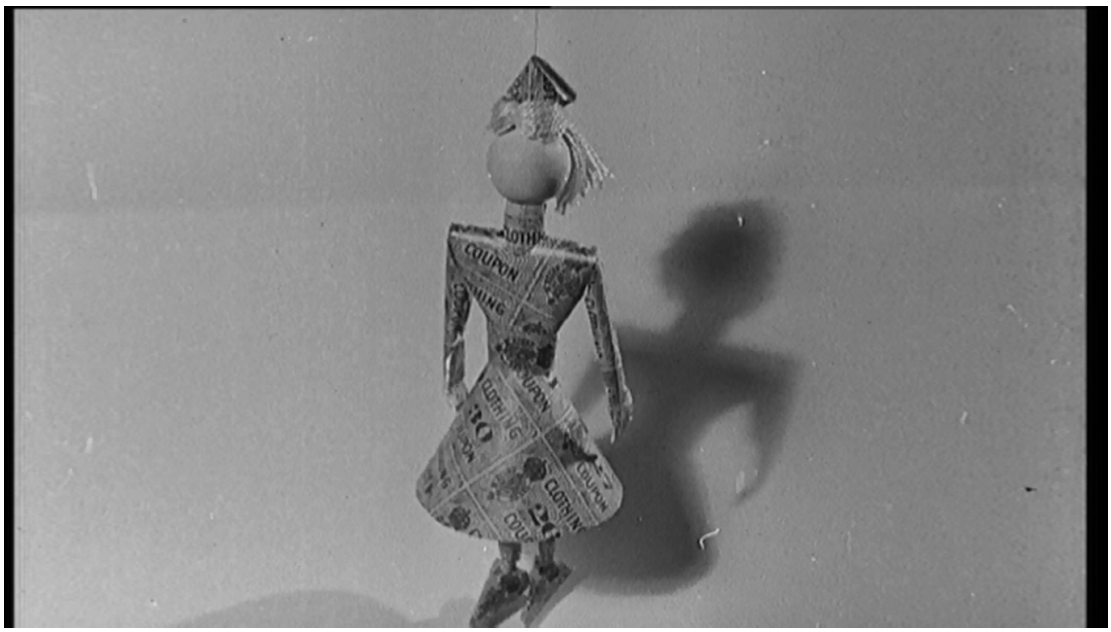

Figure 3: Clothing Coupon Doll, *Sensible Clothes Buying* (British Pathé, 1942).

The doll flies off to the shops in a strange dreamlike sequence. As the doll flies down the high street, the narrator tells spectators 'don't buy flimsy clothes […]. Don't buy unless it is vital. Then, buy for service'.[79] Dismissing unnecessary consumption, this film is rejecting notions that fashion is 'frivolous'. As a 'vital' element of 'service', fashion is presented as a political force in wartime strategy. Following the narrator's advice, the doll leads the viewer towards smart spending. By choosing an explicitly fictional character, this government

[79] Ibid.

endorsed narrative is asking viewers to engage with national campaigns through suspended disbelief in, and identification with, a doll, a reference to childhood and make-believe.

In a similar use of fantasy, another film branded with the Ministry of Information logo shows a family sitting around a table trying to decide how to make their clothing coupons last. As they do so, their clothes fly out of the wardrobe by their own means and begin speaking. The father's suit suggests, 'I could make a smart costume for the young lady'.[80] He is followed by the Mother's wedding dress, 'I'd like to be a nightdress and panties'.[81] In this film, clothes take on the film's prescriptive commentary. Far from 'frivolous', the clothes become the Ministry of Information's mouthpiece. In the same way as make do and mend gives new life to old clothes, the clothes here are given life through anthropomorphism, a convention common to fairy tales, such as the speaking wolf in 'Little Red Riding Hood'. During this period it was unpatriotic to promote ideals of new fashions having transformative effects on their consumers, therefore the film literally breathes new life into old garments. The film ends with a suggestion (or instruction) to British women, 'FORM A MAKE DO AND MEND GROUP'.[82]

Promoting the 'beauty on duty' character as the ideal wartime woman, Pathé also made films focusing on appearance and cosmetics. However, the aims of these transformations are frequently of safety over style or prudence.

---

[80] *Make and Mend* (British Pathé, 1943).
[81] Ibid.
[82] Ibid.

Introducing the Vingle is a film from 1942,[83] which asks women who work with machinery to have their hair cut short to avoid 'untold trouble'. To make the idea appear appealing, the film promotes a new hairstyle, created with short hair. The narrator suggests, 'while you have it cut, why not have it made attractive also?' As we watch the model's hair being cut, we see her being transformed from a civilian into the government ideal of the 'beauty on duty'. This makeover film promotes a national, uniformed appearance, like the regulation haircuts of the military. Encouraging British women to homogenise their appearance in allegiance to an army of beauties on duty, *Introducing the Vingle* demonstrates that even in politics, fashion and beauty act as fictive devices. This is reflected in the language of the film's script: 'and now I hope you'll forgive me for breaking into rhyme. If you'd avoid a bad scalp tingle, take care of your hair, the answer's vingle'. The use of rhyme is a linguistic generic trope associated with children's literature, nursery rhymes, and fairy tales. As a form of propaganda, *Introducing the Vingle* politicises beauty by using a fictional formula to present an accessible, entertaining, memorable, and unintimidating message that uses narratives of fashion, beauty, and transformation to persuade British women to follow government policy.

British Pathé made government campaigns even more desirable through the introduction of cinema celebrity.[84] In *New Hair-Do* from 1942,[85] the viewer watches as American film and television actress Lana Turner allows her hair to be curled up and piled on top of her head, shortening its length in line with the practical considerations outlined by *Introducing the Vingle*. *New Hair-Do* ties in

[83] *Introducing the Vingle* (British Pathé, 1942).
[84] Altman, p. 193.
[85] *New Hair-Do* (British Pathé, 1942).

an aspirational star narrative, with a 'before' and 'after' makeover format. At the beginning of the film, we see Turner with her hair down. The main body of the film focuses on the transformation process, with a close-up on Turner's face as the hairdresser works on her hair. At the end of the film, the hairdresser removes the gown from Turner's shoulders, revealing a black evening dress and pearl necklace to give the 'full effect' of the transformation.[86] The camera then closes in on Turner's head, as she spins around slowly. After seducing the audience with the vision of a film star looking glamorous with a new hairstyle, the film encourages its audience to aspire to be like her: 'All you have to do now ladies is to copy Lana, so up with those curls'.

In an analysis focusing on spectator memories of Hollywood cinema, Jackie Stacey looks at the cinemagoer's identification with Hollywood stars as a form of fantasy transformation. In this, Stacey distinguishes between '*identificatory fantasies*' that 'take place exclusively in the imagination', and '*identificatory practices*' that 'occur at the level of cultural activity'. She also distinguishes between '*cinematic identification*, which refers to the viewing experience', and '*extra-cinematic identification*, referring to the use of stars' identities' outside the cinema.[87] Pathé's suggestion that British women replicate Turner's hairstyle in *New Hair-Do* employs an allusion to 'identificatory practices' and 'extra-cinematic identification', as activity that attempts to transform the viewer's identity in the real world. Stacey writes, 'Copying the hairstyles of famous film stars can be seen as a form of cultural production and consumption. It involves the production of a new self-image through the pleasure

[86] Ibid.
[87] Stacey, *Star Gazing,* p. 171. Emphasis as in original.

taken in a star image'.[88] The viewer transforms their physical appearance as a form of identification with their chosen Hollywood celebrity, but also, (perhaps unconsciously) as a response to the didactic nature and tradition of fashion in film, discussed by Tamar Jeffers McDonald in response to contemporary feature films in Chapter 1. In *Hollywood Catwalk*, McDonald describes Hollywood films as 'visual extensions' of early twentieth-century conduct literature, in telling viewers 'how to behave as well as to dress'.[89] In this case, the film is, in its most basic form, telling women how to style their hair.

According to Stacey, the aspiration for audiences to make this transformation comes from a presented media image of film stars as 'role models', 'someone to emulate', and 'the epitome of what every woman should be'.[90] Evaluating the results of her research, Stacey concludes that this desire to emulate film stars is not only related to physical appearance, but also to the way stars are perceived to handle situations. One of the women who responds to Stacey's questionnaire on cinema memories states, 'I liked seeing strong, capable and independent types of female characters mostly because I wished to be like them'.[91] The association made in *New Hair-Do* between a Hollywood film star and war work, draws images of Hollywood beauty together with a mindset of female resourcefulness, independence, and strength of character, presenting commitment to service as a glamorous occupation.

[88] Ibid., p. 168.
[89] McDonald, p. 13.
[90] Stacey, *Star Gazing,* p. 152.
[91] Ibid., p. 154.

Rick Altman discusses the increasing references to the 'personal lives of stars' in the development of the cinema star system in the twentieth-century. He credits these personal references with crossing 'class lines', and allowing audiences to identify with everyday aspects of the star's identity.[92] This technique also presents an intertextual blurring of fact and fiction, in the combined personas of the actors and their roles. Constructed information about the 'personal' life of Lana Turner in *New Hair-Do* makes her seem more accessible. Crossing class lines as a real person who has a responsibility to help the war effort like everyone else, Lana Turner represents the Hollywood star as the ultimate 'beauty on duty'. In newsreels and cinemagazines actresses of the silver screen promote the British war effort. In fictional feature films they provide entertainment and boost morale. In both, they keep up appearances. Dependent on the appeal of celebrity and, in this case Hollywood, the 'beauty on duty' is created and promoted through the structures of fiction, romance, and fantasy. Always the aspirational 'after' image, the 'beauty on duty' remains an imagined ideal, an incentive character that female spectators *could* become in the future.

Fashions of Tomorrow

In his discussion of fairy tales, Bettelheim writes, 'only hope for the future can sustain us in the adversity we unavoidably encounter'.[93] According to Bettelheim, finding meaning for one's life necessitates the belief 'that one will make a significant contribution to life – if not right now, then at some future

[92] Altman, p. 193.
[93] Bettelheim, p. 4.

time'.[94] Fairy tales give 'symbolic expression' to a 'metaphoric death of an old, inadequate self', in which the subject is 'reborn', into a brighter existence.[95] In the time preceding this rebirth, forward-looking positivity provides the strength required to continue moving forward.[96] This belief in the renewing capabilities of the future forms part of the fairy tale's aspirational quality, the projection of 'magic possibility', in which 'anyone could become a knight in shining armour or a lovely princess'.[97] In Pathé's post-war fashion films, we can see a corresponding presentation of the future, as a place of renewal, possibility, and peace, beyond the hardships of wartime austerity, in a discourse of Britain's economic renewal.

In the post-war period, the British economy was unstable.[98] With memories of the thirties depression still vivid in people's minds, [99] the need for an efficient and effective regeneration strategy was widely felt. A plan was championed by the Labour Party in their ultimately successful election manifesto titled *Let Us Face the Future*, which won them the vote in 1945.[100] One of the main foci of this plan was the nationalisation of industry. The focus on the importance of British industry to British economy, and its nationalisation in a time of post-war reconstruction, meant that private industry continued to be an object of state interest. Just as fashion was used to embrace national war efforts during conflict, it was also used in the post-war period as a medium through

---

[94] Ibid.
[95] Ibid., p. 35.
[96] Ibid., p. 4.
[97] Jack Zipes, *Fairy Tales and the Art of Subversion*, p. 7.
[98] L.J.Butler, *Britain and Empire: Adjusting to a Post-Imperial World* (London: I.B.Taurus, 2002), p. 60.
[99] Edwina Ehrman, 'Broken Traditions: 1930-55', in *The London Look: Fashion from Street to Catwalk,* ed. by Christopher Breward, Edwina Ehrman, and Caroline Evans (London: Yale University Press in association with the Museum of London, 2004), pp. 97-115.
[100] David Kynaston, *Austerity Britain 1945-51* (London: Bloomsbury, 2007), p. 21.

which to instigate feelings of renewal, and to visually represent the nation's transformation from war to peace.

Clothes rationing continued in Britain until 1949. Whilst the rhetoric of newness continued in Pathé's post-war fashion films, the image of 'tomorrow' changed. Instead of war working, make do and menders with short hair and red lipstick, the women of the future became consumers. The 1945 film *Fashions in Wool* presents a collection 'preview' showing 'tailored sports clothes of tomorrow'.[101] The clothes are presented in a catwalk style fashion show, as girls enter the room one at a time, modelling the outfits. The description of a 'preview' implies a special event, and a privilege of access. In this sense, it is presenting an inclusive narrative, that all viewers can be privy to this exciting information. In a move away from rationing, the clothes in the parade are attributed to a designer, Muriel Bellamy, rather than to the Utility Scheme, or Britain more generally. The backdrop of the film is still plain and non-specific, and the clothes are still useful, practical, and respectable, 'thorough-bred'.[102] The inclusion of a fashion show marks the beginning of post-war promotion and a return to thinking about pleasurable fashion consumption in Britain. However, when *Fashions in Wool* was made in 1945, this consumer society did not yet exist.

Inexpensive Dress, also from 1945, tells a similar story of fashion's future.[103] It asks female viewers what they are going to wear 'when austerity

[101] *Fashions in Wool* (British Pathé, 1945).
[102] Ibid.
[103] *Inexpensive Dress* (British Pathé, 1945).

fashions are a thing of the past?' Here, the future tense of the commentary is set in opposition to 'past' fashions. Fashion is depicted as a medium through which to change, or move on, to something better: new outfits, a new life, and a new nation. Filmed in the studio of a fashion designer, *Inexpensive Dress* shows a sketch being transformed into an outfit, the 'result' of the designer's work process. The image of this dress in film presents an insight into the 'world of tomorrow', an imaginary world that, by definition, can never arrive. As a medium, or vehicle through which the 'world of tomorrow' can be imagined, the 'world of fashion' is presented as a similarly impossible place, a 'world' of possibility that can never be actualised because it is always just around the corner. A narrative device for tales of the future, fashion continues to play a political and economic role in these films, encouraging female spending to try and re-stabilise the economy at a time of post-war reconstruction.

In Pathé's fashion films, mythology exists around both past and future imaginations. Each is a construct, and hence, each is a fiction. In these films, the promoted image of British fashion balances stories of its past with stories of its future. It references where it has come from, as well as where it is going, never quite occupying the present moment. However, this is also ironic. The fashions of the future are acting as the 'after' image for a time that hasn't yet happened. The transformative process of the future coming into being has not yet taken place. As well as the 'after' image referencing the past, fashion here acts simultaneously as the 'before' image prefiguring the future. In this sense, fashion is the timeless force that ties the two together, in one long continuing fairy tale narrative of 'Once Upon a Time'.

‘Civvy Street’

British Pathé released *Service into Civvies* in 1945. The film shows a woman who has just left service walking into a shop in her wren uniform to purchase a civilian outfit. [104] The commentator explains that when each wren leaves service, she receives ‘twelve pounds ten to spend on clothes’. The narrative promises each female officer the same fashion budget, regardless of background. This particular wren is looking to spend her allowance on an outfit to wear to a job interview. We watch as she crosses the street and enters a department store whilst still wearing her uniform, the ‘before’ image. This street is briefly identified as being located in London through the image of a double decker bus. Inside the shop, the film promotes the apparent options available, speaking of the wren’s personal ‘style’ to emphasise the post-war move to individual choice. Although the clothes on offer are still Utility, the film’s focus is on the items’ attractiveness, rather than usefulness. Choice, rather than necessity, is re-instated into the British woman’s fashion narrative in this sequence. This is highlighted in the use of language, with words and phrases such as ‘choose’, ‘picks herself’, and ‘tried on’. However, the small selection of outfits visible on screen casts doubt on how many choices were really available.

[104] *Service into Civvies* (British Pathé, 1945).

Figure 4: Civvy Choice, *Service into Civvies* (British Pathé, 1945).

Once she has chosen her outfit the wren goes into the changing room. At this point a transformation sequence begins. The camera pans up from the wren's feet in uniform, to her newly stocking-clad legs, and up her newly dressed body to reveal her new look. In contrast to the *Make Do and Mend* films of the war, the subject of transformation is no longer fabric or old clothes: it is women. Fashion is presented as the magic object that can change the hero's life, discussed by Bettelheim.[105] By changing her clothes, the wren's identity has been transformed, from member of the Royal Naval Service into civilian. The narrator remarks: 'so, our ex-sailor girl steps out feeling pretty good, all ready to face Civvy Street'. The film ends with a close-up on a book being closed, positioning the story in literary discourse.

[105] Bettelheim, p. 73.

'Civvy Street' is an imaginary place, a mythological fantasy. It is also a place of fashion. The wren in Pathé's film is 'ready' to enter 'Civvy Street', once she has changed her clothes. Fashion allows her access to a fantasy place, a site of change where she walks out of the department store onto a street that looks the same as the one she walked in on, and yet isn't. The 'after' effect of this transformation isn't just the way the wren looks; it is the space she occupies. It is significant that 'Civvy Street' is depicted as a shopping street. By consuming fashion, the wren can enter the 'fantasy future' of *Fashions in Wool* and *Inexpensive Dress*, as a free civilian, and as a consumer. Through this fantasy fashion street, the focus of Pathé's British fashion films transforms from 'service' to 'civvy' fashions.

In the 1949 film *Stars Take to Chinchilla for Winter* the possibilities of fashion on 'Civvy Street' are presented as having explicitly magical capabilities, which draw the film even further into fairy tale discourse than 'Service into Civvies', which promotes a more subtle sense of future possibility.[106] The film shows a Hollywood actress perform 'fashion magic' with her 'chinchilla trimmed cape made of two circular panels'.[107] Unhooking one side of the cape, she wraps it around her waist and re-attaches it to the other side, turning it into a wrap around over dress: the same cape is transformed into two outfits. Actress Patricia Neal then 'stars in the third act of this high fashion drama'.[108] Taking a Chinchilla stole loosely placed around her shoulders, she attaches the two sides together at the front to make a wide fur collar: 'in the supporting role, yes, its

[106] *Stars Take to Chinchilla for Winter* (British Pathé, 1949).
[107] Ibid.
[108] Ibid.

chinchilla again, cast as two completely different characters'.[109] Fashion is described as an actor in a drama, playing theatrical roles in fictional stories. This language of performance continues with the introduction of the next actress, 'the fourth star to this style hit', who wears a 'very dramatic gown with a knee length split' and a high 'face framing' chinchilla collar.

Figure 5: Face Framing Collar, *Stars Take to Chinchilla for Winter* (British Pathé, 1949).

This high collar and floor length gown are very similar in shape to those worn by the character of the Queen in Disney's animated film *Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs*,[110] released in 1937. Although this may be an unintentional case of intertextuality, it works alongside the lexical field of magic in the commentary of this film. The actress slips the 'fur trim top' from her shoulders and wraps it

[109] Ibid.
[110] *Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs*, dir. by David Hand, William Cottrell, Wilfred Jackson, Larry Morey, Perce Pearce, and Ben Sharpsteen (Walt Disney, 1937).

around her waist: 'presto changeo it's a fur trimmed skirt', a magic transformation! For the finale of the film, the actress 'proves she's a knowing showman by saving the best trick for last'. As she rolls down the folded fur trimmed cuffs of her coat to make a muff, the commentator declares, 'What, no rabbit?'[111] In response, a rabbit promptly appears out of the muff. Through its association with magic, fashion's fantasy capabilities are also presented in this film, as an illusion.

Despite a renewed turn towards consumption and futures of magic possibility in Pathé's post-war films, the reality of British fashion at this time was still inherently connected with the past. The continued wartime dictation of fashion in the post-war period is highlighted in Pathé's 1945 film *Private Smith Goes Glamorous*.[112] Here, fashion quite literally comes from military influence, as the film depicts a uniform being altered to make a civilian outfit. Here we can see an example of the make do and mend mentality carried over from the early forties. The film ends by saying: 'Private Molly becomes Mrs. Molly, very smart in her altered uniform, and all ready to face civilian life again'. This film seems almost to work against *Service into Civvies*, made the same year. Instead of shedding her uniform for the renewal of a new dress symbolic of a life free from service, Mrs. Molly is here stepping into civilian life still wearing the clothes (if not slightly altered) of service. A similar story is told in the 1946 Pathé film *Painted Lovelies*, which shows parachute nylon being used to make dresses designed by Zika Ascher, a famous Czech fashion designer working in the

[111] *Stars Take to Chinchilla for Winter*.
[112] *Private Smith Goes Glamorous* (British Pathé, 1945).

British industry.[113] Both these films symbolise the continuing influence of wartime restrictions on post-war fashion. Despite its narratives of independence and freedom, 'Civvy Street' is still controlled by the government, and influenced by the war. More of a confused entanglement of old and new, fashion and politics remain entwined. Sold in *Service into Civvies* as a vehicle of escape, fashion is presented in these two films as a medium that continues to connect the past with the future, through the re-use of textile materials.

In Pathé's post-war fashion films, the fantasy of 'Civvy Street' is not only a place where women consume and model fashion. It is also a place where fashion is produced. In 1946, Pathé made a classroom film for British Instructional Films Ltd named *Boots and Shoes*, which shows the physical processes through which boots and shoes are made.[114] The film available online has no sound. The images show the process through which pieces of leather are cut, sewn and molded to become items of footwear. Like the scraps of fabric in *S.O.S*, the pieces of leather in this film are appropriated and transformed into an item that can be worn. Rather than turning hopelessness into hope, this film shows quality materials being made into consumable products. The 'after' image of these shoes represents a positive outlook, not for the end of war, but for the future of British economy. The factory setting highlights the re-appropriation of the manufacturing and textiles factories for 'civvy' rather than 'service' work. On 'Civvy Street', British fashion manufacturing has returned.

[113] *Painted Lovelies* (British Pathé, 1946).
[114] *Boots and Shoes* (British Pathé, for British Instructional Films Ltd, 1946).

The same year, a film titled *Fame in Fabric* was made by Pathé to further promote the desirability of British made fabrics.[115] It shows Zika Ascher taking inspiration for textiles from artist Felix Topolski (born in Warsaw but, by this time, an official British war artist), and Britain born artists Henry Moore and Cecil Beaton. As well as advertising the British manufacturing industry by promoting British fabrics, the film is also foregrounding the work of four British artists. The quality of British fashion is demonstrated by its prestigious setting in the National Portrait Gallery. The film shows the process of printing designs onto fabrics, before presenting a few examples of finished scarves. The names of the scarves chosen for presentation are also telling: one is called 'Victory', another 'Scottish Officers', and another 'Bomber's Departure'. As well as being well made, the scarves are patriotic, resulting in the heightened association of well-made fabrics with specifically British manufacturing. The commentator declares: 'Before the war we lagged behind in fashion design, but today our artists and industrialists are being encouraged to help us go right ahead'.[116] Pathé are telling a story of fashion's development in Britain that runs alongside Britain's narrative of war. Fashion, politics, and national identity continue to be written together in Pathé's post-war stories.

The glamour of the fashion industry and the down to earth experience of the textile manufacturing industry are combined in the 1946 Pathé film *Factory Fashions*. This film shows a fashion catwalk show, taking place in the Bradford factory where the clothes were made. I will cite the narrator at length to provide a flavour of the film's tone:

---

[115] *Fame in Fabric* (British Pathé, 1945).
[116] Ibid.

> We take you to Bradford for something completely new in the way of fashion shows. This show has a big story behind it. There's a shortage of mill girls in Bradford, and that's a serious matter for all of us. So one famous firm of weavers decided to hold a fashion show in the factory, just to give the girls a look at some of the smart clothes made from the wool they'd weaved. Famous designers joined in the scheme and sent along their latest creations in wool, and well-known mannequins to wear them. Girls in the factory were given the chance to act as mannequins too. All their folk turned up to see them.[117]

This tale of textile manufacturing tells a story of fashion as a medium of the new. Responding to a 'shortage of mill girls' the film tells a familiar fashion transformation narrative to attract potential employees. By giving factory workers an opportunity to dress up and 'act as mannequins' on a catwalk, the film is appealing to fairy tale social mobility narratives that rescue girls from hard labour by dressing them in ball gowns and making them princesses for a one-off special event. By temporarily transforming factory workers into fashion models, the film promotes fashion as a gateway to fantasy, and suggests that through fashion, anything is possible. 'Spinning' tales and 'weaving' plots, these three films tie fashion production to the process of fairy tale narrative and storytelling,[118] giving precedence to the archetypal fairy tale characters of tailors, shoemakers, and spinners, acknowledged in Chapter 1. Leading on from the make do and menders of the war, tailors and dressmakers become archetypal figures of Pathé's fashion films, in the same way as they populate fairy tales. The fantasy future of 'Civvy Street' does not only transform women's identities. Through fashion, it also promises to transform the national workforce, and to

[117] *Factory Fashions* (British Pathé, 1946).
[118] Marina Warner, 'The Old Wives' Tale', p. 315.

provide jobs. Presenting this promise, Pathé's post-war fashion films continue to play a regenerative role in British economy.

'Civvy Street' Goes On Tour

The economic role of Pathé's fashion films in the post-war period draws attention towards the export of goods, sent out from London to the rest of the world. *Savile Row Goes on Tour* released in 1948, tells a story of London's bespoke tailoring district.[119] The film opens with a bird's eye camera view of the street, before cutting to a close-up of the 'Savile Row' street sign. It then moves inside one of the stores, and shows tailors transforming fabric into suits. The commentary opens,

> A line of drab exteriors spells the name of a street world famous among well-dressed men from London to Hong Kong. Here is found the aristocracy of style and fashion. Despite restrictions and economic difficulties, the international demand for the cut of Savile Row is as great as it has ever been.[120]

The Savile Row street sign is a 'geographical indicator' of the kind outlined by David Gilbert, and discussed in Chapter 1,[121] a sign that connects the consumption of fashion with a specific location.

---

[119] *Savile Row Goes on Tour* (British Pathé, 1948).
[120] Ibid.
[121] Gilbert, 'Urban Outfitting', p. 11.

Figure 6: Savile Row, *Savile Row Goes on Tour* (British Pathé, 1948).

Followed by images of tailors at work, Savile Row is immediately identified in *Savile Row Goes on Tour* as a fashion street. A segment of 'Civvy Street', it plays the role of a consumption site with a heritage narrative of aristocratic patronage that adds meaning and value to the wares on offer.[122] Its location in London and its subsequent position within a global ordering of fashion capitals is sold through the described export-trading route between London and Hong Kong. In this film, Pathé tells a national narrative of fashion, to entice a global market. The local is used to attract the global, to 'pursue the rupee and the dollar'.[123]

Savile Row Goes on Tour is drawing on a history of media representations about Savile Row, telling the same story. Two years earlier in 1946, Pathé had released a film titled *Savile Row*, 'Introducing the best dressed

[122] Ibid., p. 10.
[123] *Savile Row Goes on Tour*.

street in the world'.[124] In this opening line, the fashion street is anthropomorphised. Savile Row is presented as a fictional character. The heritage of the street alluded to in *Savile Row Goes on Tour* is set out in more detail by this earlier film:

> Savile Row was founded here by the first and most famous tailors of them all, Mr. Henry Poole, a few years after the battle of Waterloo. Napoleon himself was incidentally a client of Mr. Poole's, and the long line of the world's Kings, Empresses and Princes bares eloquent testimony to the supremacy of London tailoring.[125]

In this film, Savile Row and its fashions are tied to a history of Britain that is referenced in *Savile Row Goes On Tour*, a film made two years later promoting the same street, generating something of a street mythology. This mythology of place acts in line with Natascha Radclyffe Thomas' claim, that fashion brands and cities exploit stories of heritage to gain competitive advantage.[126] As she argues, stories of the past, mythologised through repetition in a variety of media texts act as 'a key driver for differentiation of international fashion brands'.[127] The past is used to sell the present and, as we can see in the replication of this story two years later, the future. The relationship between Savile Row's history and its international export links is a key feature of Savile Row's mythology, which prides itself on offering 'the finest in the world'.[128] *Savile Row Goes on Tour* ends with the image of a tailor packing a suit to be sent abroad. The tailored garments of Savile Row tell a national narrative, as 'welcome ambassadors from

---

[124] *Savile Row* (British Pathé, 1946).
[125] Ibid.
[126] Natascha Radclyffe Thomas, 'Weaving Fashion Stories in Shanghai: Heritage, Retro and Vintage Fashion in Modern Shanghai', in *Fashion in Fiction: Style Stories and Transglobal Narratives* conference.
[127] Ibid.
[128] *Savile Row*.

Britain'.[129] As part of the 'global competition between cities' set out in Chapter 1,[130] London is presented as a prestigious global fashion capital, with demand from some of the wealthiest fashion consumers in the world.

Pathé's post-war fashion films acknowledge the ambassadorial role fashion takes on in the promotion of London locations overseas, by connecting London fashion with travel and transport. In 1945, Pathé made a film titled *London – New York*, showing London fashion designer Joy Ricardo packing her newest collection to take to New York.[131] The commentator explains:

> On her way to New York is Joy Ricardo, West End designer, to act as Britain's unofficial fashion ambassador. This tailored suit she'll travel in was designed by herself, like all the rest of the personal wardrobe she's taking with her. She's off to show America what we can do in the way of new clothes when released from controls.[132]

This commentary boasts that British fashions have an export market abroad, in particular the rather glamorous fashion city of New York. The film then displays the clothes for export, presenting a female mannequin modelling some of Ricardo's outfits as the commentator describes them for advertisement. In compliment to these outfits, the film sets up Britain against America, 'It looks as if Joy has plenty of new ideas to make the Americans sit up when she gets to the other side'.[133] The implied relationship here between travel and fashionability presents the image of a jet-setting, glamorous and cultured British woman, freed

---

[129] *Savile Row Goes on Tour*.
[130] David Gilbert, 'From Paris to Shanghai: The Changing Geographies of Fashion's World Cities', in *Fashion's World Cities,* ed. by Christopher Breward and David Gilbert (Oxford; New York: Berg, 2006), pp. 3-32 (p. 4).
[131] *London - New York* (British Pathé, 1945).
[132] Ibid.
[133] *London – New York*.

from the confines of the domestic space by her allegiance to the national fashion industry.

In the closing statement of *London – New York*, fashion's imaginary geography is referenced again: 'And now the time has come for Joy Ricardo to say goodbye for now to England, and for us to wish her good luck, in her bid to put Britain on the fashion map'.[134] The fantasy 'World of Fashion' has its own 'fashion map'. Distinct from the geography of the physical world, fashion writes its own atlas with its own grid references. The film ends with images of Ricardo in her British outfit, getting into a taxi and onto the train, acting as visual symbols for the travel and transportation of British fashions around the world. The street-based mythologies of 'Civvy Street' and Savile Row form parts of London mythology. This mythology corresponds with David Gilbert's argument, outlined in Chapter 1, that determinants of place contribute to the consumer value of fashion.[135] Fashionable tales about London contribute to a consumer's desire to shop in the city, helping to position the city as a global fashion capital based on a network of carefully constructed media representations. Increasingly in the coming years, the fantasy image of London as a fashion city was to be built on as an intertextual web of media references to a select number of its streets.

The drive to develop exports for overseas consumption continued throughout the forties, undermining domestic frustrations as shortages and rationing continued in Britain. There were ideological concerns among civilians

[134] Ibid.
[135] Gilbert, 'Urban Outfitting'.

about the centralised control of the state in peacetime, which some credit as the reason for the Conservative re-election in 1951.[136] With the Conservatives back in power and working towards the re-appropriation of a free state economy, the export drive continued to thrive throughout the fifties and sixties, along with the growing strength of advertising in the domestic market. Within a short space of time, British fashion had moved far away from the *Make Do and Mend* campaigns of the early forties.

Transformations

These films serve a state-supported agenda, where gender serves to anchor national concerns of frugality, austerity, work and consumption. Their effectiveness is secured by the manner of their address to an audience of women as national subjects, using fashion and beauty as tools. Whilst *Eve's Film Review* of the early twentieth-century challenged traditional, patriarchal perceptions about the roles of women and fashion in society, films of the Second World War display more caution. On the surface, they present working women in uniforms playing their part in a national war effort, images that could be read as progressive shifts from notions of women whose only role is to glide around gardens with a parasol looking pretty. However, on closer inspection, these films display an attempt to limit women's transformation as far as they can, resisting changes beyond those that are necessary or useful to national agenda. Jack Zipes speaks of the 'good girl' of fairy tale, and we can see this notion reflected in these films.[137] Each wartime short discussed in this chapter focuses on women's life in the home, reassuring the nation that this is still, ultimately, where she

[136] Zweiniger-Bargielowska, p. 2.
[137] Zipes, 'Breaking the Disney Spell', p. 348.

belongs. If a female character enters the house in uniform, they immediately remove it and change into a more recognisable, feminine attire. The running connections between narratives of fashion, romance, and marriage, also function as patriarchal apparatus designed to keep women in their place. While the women in these films are not presented as passive in the sense that they are shown actively struggling against wartime hardships, they can be read as passive in their role as characters written by men. These women are not shown to be choosing their own way, but to be following patriarchal instruction.

Whether arriving home from work, or performing their homely duties, female subjects in Pathé's wartime films are depicted as wearing national uniforms; the military uniforms of their war work, and the leisure uniform of *Make Do and Mend* in their home life. The concept of a national uniform invades the domestic, as well as the work space, defining women both professionally, and domestically, in relation to their national duties. The home also becomes a site of war work, bringing national military strategy into the domestic sphere, and presenting a sustained attempt, by the state, to control and define female identity at a time of increasing national gender crises and instability. As mobilising texts, these films are not only persuading women to join the war effort; they are seducing them to sign up for a national image of womanhood. The state-guided image of women's transformation presents a moral obligation to upkeep their feminine roles despite national crises, through a sustained engagement with their physical appearance. This sense of a gendered continuity through conflict is mobilised to represent national transformation, reassuring viewers that, whilst

women retain their femininity through national crises, Britain retains its pre-war essence despite international instability.

Aspirations of social mobility in *Eve's Film Review* are also less prevalent in Pathé's forties films, with the notion of class division ignored in the promotion of national unity. However, the notion of 'everywoman' carried over into the *Make Do and Mend* films is problematic to readings of gender identity, in its implication that all women are the same, and share the same aspirations. This is consistent with wartime notions of solidarity and British patriotism, and yet disturbing in its neglection of individuality, or social nuance. As Bettelheim writes, fairy tales positively enable readers to 'transcend the narrow confines of a self-centered existence'.[138] These films harness this trope to national agenda by placing the nation above the individual, in the way Lant describes in Chapter 1.

Post-war depictions of women on the catwalk, shopping and buying clothes, shows a progression from the austerity of war. However, when looked at in relation to Pathé's pre-war material, one can also see a return to a pre-war vision of femininity as presented in *Eve's Film Review*. Like the cycle of the fashion system, this chapter presents a gender cycle, in the return of previous trends. However, in a hang over from wartime preoccupation, women in these post-war films continue to be mobilised, as fashion and, by association, femininity, begins to be associated with London, in advance of the 'Swinging Sixties' phenomenon explored in the next chapter. Rather than reassuring men in service that Britain (and its women) awaits their return, these later films are

[138] Bettelheim, pp. 3-4.

designed to make London more attractive to overseas buyers, who were, at this time, presumably men.

Returning to the construction of fairy tale narratives in these films, it is also worthy of note that stories of women, rather than men, are told through structures of fantasy and make-believe. Notions of 'women' and 'femininity' are presented here as fictions, social constructs designed to perpetuate social power structures. As highlighted in the title of the *Eve's Film Review* series, femininity can be read as an institutional ideology, historically defined by religion, and later, as proved in these films, by the state. As characters in fairy tale narratives, the concept of 'women' here can be addressed as a fictive device, a socially constructed myth, in the same way as fashion.

There is also an implication in both the *Make Do and Mend* films and the post-war material that follows, that fashion can help viewers find a way of living in society, in the same way as genre and fairy tales educate subliminally. Each of these films tells narratives with simple instructions that anyone can follow, first for purposes of national unity, and then as a selling technique. These tales are presented in accessible places that move from the domestic, to the high street, and into the shop. Each film ends with the moment of transformation, leaving the female viewer with the desire, or fantasy to become the transformed 'other'.[139] These fashion films would have been viewed in the cinema, before the screening of the main feature. In this sense, they occupy the time between eventful happenings: the waiting time for wives between their husbands leaving for war

[139] Cook, p. 45.

and coming home, the breaks between air raids, the time between the war coming to a close and British consumption returning to normal with the end of rationing. The cinema is associated with spare time. In this sense, the fashion features of these films could be assumed to be pure 'frivolous' escapist entertainment. There are aspects of fantasy, of the 'unreal' or fiction, magic in each of these films that, far from acting as 'frivolous' entertainment, reflect on national politics, economics, society, and culture. These transformation narratives tell a story of the British war effort, and the move in political preoccupation between austerity, spending, and export. All of them use fashion as a way of looking to the future and to change. Through fashion they look to the end of the war, to freedom, to the end of austerity, rationing, and Utility clothes. Set in this 'World of Tomorrow', the fashions of these films frequently occupy a fantasy space, an imagined location embodied as 'Civvy Street', where fashions are manufactured as well as worn. This fantasy world moves from national, through to slightly more global narratives as the political climate changes, with fashion as a subject used to negotiate international relations, and to imagine cosmopolitan futures.

Discussing the role of fairy tales in cultural discourse, Jack Zipes writes, 'entertainment and instruction were always part of their function, but they were designed to communicate ideas about natural instincts, social relations, normative behavior, character types, sexual roles, and power politics'.[140] Their primary function, according to Zipes, is to disseminate ideology, often 'constituted by the most powerful groups in a community or nation-state' to

[140] Zipes, *Why Fairy Tales Stick,* p. 99.

serve 'their vested interests'.[141] As he argues, these ideologies have been institutionalised in print, but even more so in film, 'for the images now imposed themselves on the text'.[142] In this sense, Pathé's forties fashion films conform to a fairy tale function, disseminating government ideology to serve a national vested interest, through the combined form of entertainment and instruction. Providing a system of moral education for British women, these films testify to Zipes' notion of the institutional attempt to harness fairy tale teachings to dominant social agendas. We can see here the 'incorporation of fairy tales into cultural consciousness' that Zipes speaks of in Chapter 1, as 'a very specific genre' that 'has inserted itself' into everyday life. Pathé's fashion films draw on the familiar structures of fairy tales, as 'natural stories, second nature', to encourage changes in national female behaviour. To influence spectators' actions on leaving the cinema, these films attempt to exploit the notion, outlined by Zipes, that 'many of us try, even without knowing it, to make a fairy tale out of our [own] lives'.[143]

British Pathé continued to produce cinemagazines until the sixties, alongside feature films and commercials. However, struggling to compete with television, the final editions of the Pathé Pictorial cinemagazine and *Pathé News* were produced in 1969. According to the British Pathé website, the 'newsreel format was [...] beginning to look tired, with outdated patriotism at odds with the postcolonial attitudes of the British public'.[144] This followed Associated British Picture Corporation's acquisition of a majority share in Thames Television in

[141] Ibid., p. 131.
[142] Zipes,'Breaking the Disney Spell', p. 338.
[143] Zipes, *Why Fairy Tales Stick*, p. xi.
[144] British Pathé, 'History of British Pathé'.

1968. At this stage, 'Associated British Pathé went through a radical transformation, from an active production house, into a film archive'.[145] In the eighties, the feature film and newsreel arms were separated. Studio Canal acquired the feature film assets. By 1990, the archive had been rebranded as British Pathé News, bought by the Daily Mail and the General Trust in 1995, and finally shortened to British Pathé plc. (now Ltd). In 2003, the archive was taken over by ITN Source, who digitised the entire archive, with part funding from the National Lottery. Since 2008, British Pathé Ltd has been an independent archive, the complete contents of which is now available for free online, on britishpathe.com and the British Pathé newsreel channel. Footage from the archive is also frequently presented on television, for instance in BBC documentaries to show visions of the past. Reflecting on the contemporary use of the British Pathé archive on a range of multi-media platforms, the British Pathé website asserts, 'In some ways, this [cinemagazine] footage is more valuable today than when it was filmed. At the time, mere light entertainment, it now serves as a window into the leisure activities of British people in the 1960s'.[146] By identifying British Pathé's longstanding heritage of British fashion promotion that spans almost the entire length of the company's history since its inauguration in the early nineteen-hundreds, this chapter serves as a window into the production of promotional fashion material on screen throughout the first half of the twentieth-century. Focusing particularly on Pathé's fashion film output of the forties, this chapter has also allowed for a focused discussion on the specific, state-supported role of commercial film production, and its role in attempting to

[145] Ibid.
[146] Ibid.

influence British women's approach to fashion at a key juncture in Britain's economic history.

4

Miniskirts and Money in 'Swinging London':

The Central Office of Information (COI)[1]

The post-war era was a period in which transformation was a key motif, as the nation reinvented itself from a country at war to a Britain of renewed hope. This optimism was represented through a national turn to design that was 'in some ways paternalistic, parochial and fiercely patriotic, yet at the same time optimistic, democratic and highly principled: bent on creating a new and better world for its citizens'.[2] Design was an integral medium at this moment of change, with a purpose to revision and rebuild British lives. The message was that the objects owned became linked to a sense of self, a communication of taste, and a demonstration of identity. Redesigning the interior of a home, for instance, was seen as a way of reshaping a sense of self-image. With more design objects becoming available for mass consumption during this period, design was seen as an equalising force, reflecting a post-war shift in government policy towards social equality, and the development of a welfare state.[3] This national turn to design also contributed to the post-war expansion of what, according to Alan Sinfield, 'had hitherto been, in the main, the culture of the leisure class',

[1] This is the edited, extended version of two publications. Originally published as an article in a peer reviewed journal, and a chapter in an e-book. Jo Stephenson, 'Britain's Brand Story in the Fashion Films of the Central Office of Information (COI)', *Catwalk: the Journal of Fashion, Beauty and Style,* 2, 2, (2013), 63-84; Jo Stephenson, '"Miniskirts Make Money": Post-War British Fashion Promotion in Films by the COI', in *Trending Now: New Developments in Fashion Studies* (Oxford: Inter-Disciplinary Press, 2013), pp. 167-80, eBook.

[2] Christopher Breward and Ghislaine Wood, 'Introduction: British Design from 1948: Innovation in the Modern Age', in *British Design from 1948: Innovation in the Modern Age,* ed. by Christopher Breward and Ghislaine Wood (London: V&A Publishing, 2012), pp. 12-27 (p. 16).

[3] Christopher Breward and Ghislaine Wood, 'Tradition and Modernity 1945-79', in *British Design from 1948: Innovation in the Modern Age,* ed. by Christopher Breward and Ghislaine Wood, pp. 30-39 (p. 31).

into a 'universal culture', available to mass society.[4] British design objects were promoted during this economically unstable period to reinvigorate Britain's export earnings. In 1944 the Council of Industrial Design was set up, as part of a series of Labour government initiatives to promote British design culture.[5] The vision of design as a concept of new life and national wealth was embodied in two post-war events, the V&A 'Britain Can Make It' exhibition held in 1946 to promote 'Good design – and good business',[6] and the 'Festival of Britain' held in 1951 on London's South Bank, designed to 'create a powerful vision of a modern, democratic nation'.[7] As explained by Christopher Breward and Ghislaine Wood in their book to accompany the 2012 V&A exhibition *British Design 1948-2012*, these events 'engendered a design culture, one in which new concepts were corralled to meet the requirements of rebuilding Britain's infrastructure and influence overseas'.[8]

In this period, the COI presented visions of the future in film, through a combined exhibition of design objects, designed fashions, designed women, and designed places. Analysing a collection of the COI's promotional film material available on the BFI's *Design for Today* DVD,[9] this chapter traces the increasing connection between fashion and the urban environment in information films, presenting London as a city anchored by its reputation as a fashion centre. In a progression of the narrative themes threaded through the work of British Pathé,

---

[4] Sinfield, p. 2.
[5] Breward and Wood, 'Tradition and Modernity', p. 31.
[6] Dr Simon Ford and John Davis, 'Design Council Slide Collection: An Online Guide to the Resource', VADS The Online Resource for Visual Arts <http://www.vads.ac.uk/learning/dcsc/britain.html> [accessed 29.09.2014].
[7] Breward and Wood, 'Tradition and Modernity', p. 31.
[8] Ibid.
[9] *The COI Collection Volume Two: Design for Today* (BFI, 2010).

the COI's post-war fashion films combine four transformation narratives, mirroring changes in national life. This chapter will navigate the shift in women's lives outside the home with increased opportunities for work and travel in tales of British export, the focus on a new generation of female fashion consumer, the relocation of fashion stories, and the positioning of London as a global fashion capital. In doing so, this chapter identifies a representation of post-war British women based on the collaborative relationship between British design, British architecture, and, of course, British fashion.

Introducing the Central Office of Information

The Central Office of Information (COI) was an organisation set up by the British Government in 1946 to replace the wartime Ministry of Information (MoI). According to Linda Kaye, the COI was sponsored to produce and disseminate through all media, publicity material for government departments, including the Foreign Office, the Commonwealth Relations Office and the Colonial Office. Along with the British Council and the External Services of the BBC, the COI worked with the Board of Trade to make up the Overseas Information Service (OIS).[10] In 1970, twenty-four years after the initial setting up of the COI, Sir Fife Clark, then Director General of the Central Office of Information, laid out the full scope of the COI's mission:

> In the United Kingdom the COI arranges press, television, cinema, and poster advertising, produces booklets, leaflets, films, television material, exhibitions, photographs and other visual material, and distributes

[10] Kaye, 'Reconciling Policy and Propaganda', p. 71. Linda Kaye is research executive at the British Universities Film and Video Council.

> departmental press notices. To British embassies and high commissions overseas it supplies press, radio and television material, films, booklets, magazines, reference services, exhibitions, photographs, display and reading-room material; it also manages schemes for promoting the sale in other countries of British books, periodicals and newspapers, and organizes tours for visitors invited to Britain by HM Government. On behalf of the Board of Trade, the COI is responsible for the design and construction of pavilions and stands at overseas trade fairs and for displays at trade promotion events abroad.[11]

The dissemination of information concerning British identity across such a complete range of platforms by one organisation was designed to provide a consistent and coherent image of Britain to be presented to overseas markets, help improve its international status, and hence improve the British economy through its export trade. As Sir Clark made clear, 'care is needed to ensure that the material produced will serve HM Government's policy interests.'[12] The COI's position alongside commercial companies making similar films at the same time, such as British Pathé, presents a clear relationship between politics, fashion, and commerce. The promotion of the British fashion industry through the government's filmmaking output demonstrates the state's perceived significance of British fashion, design, and manufacture to the economic success of the nation.

As demonstrated by the 1948 COI film *Designing Women*, the COI's immediate post-war design narratives were, once again, located in the domestic space, occupied by women. However, moving on from Pathé's wartime promotion of domestic austerity, these films encourage a practical yet stylish approach to domestic consumption. To illustrate this, I will here provide a

[11] Sir Fife Clark, *The Central Office of Information* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1970), p. 12.
[12] Ibid., p. 13.

detailed discussion of *Designing Women*, in which the British state defines the rules of good taste in a narrative of magic, make-believe, and fantasy.[13]

Made for the Council of Industrial Design, *Designing Women* tells female viewers how to dress their homes. The film begins with newly married couple Anna and Tom moving into their new lodgings. Filmed in medium shot, they start to unpack their wedding presents, with gifts such as a ceramic statue and a spotted teacup shown in close-up. After unwrapping a few items, Anna and Tom decide to make a pot of tea with their new tea set. The teapot is square and heavy, leaking when poured. Shown in a further close-up, the matching teacups spill when picked up, for want of a practical handle. Surveying their presents, the couple wonders where to put everything, and what furniture they should buy to fill the remaining space. Drinking his tea, Tom suggests they make a 'wish' to celebrate their first meal. Through voice in head narration he dreams, 'I wish I knew what to do with all this stuff'. Anna follows, 'I wish I knew what I wanted'. Almost immediately, two translucent female ghosts appear in medium shot, framed in the doorway. They each present a business card, shown in close-up: 'Miss Design. Assistant in helping you to know what you like', and 'Miss Arty. Assistant in helping you know what she likes'.

[13] *Designing Women*, dir. by Roger MacDougal (Central Office of Information, 1948).

Figure 7: Miss Design, *Designing Women* (COI, 1948).

The ghosts tell the couple that they have arrived in response to their wishes. Looking directly at the camera and connecting with the audience, Miss Design sets out her rules for home decoration: 'Does it work? Before you buy anything for your house just ask yourself that. If it works, if it's convenient to use, then its over the first hurdle'. Leading on from the work of British Pathé telling women what they should wear, this film tells wives how to dress their homes, drawing together a state interest in women, fashion, and the domestic space.

Miss Arty and Miss Design guide the couple around their home, giving advice on interior decoration. In the bedroom, Miss Arty stands and looks around the room (empty apart from a fireplace) and claps her hands. The camera then

pans around the bare room. There is no music or sound in this scene, only the diegetic voices of the characters, combining the magical narrative elements of the ghosts, with audio realism. Miss Arty speaks, ‘now what we need in here is a motif. Something modernistic, something brave new world-y’. The film shows Miss Arty standing with Anna and Tom, who have just entered the room. She continues, ‘Yes, I see the beds’. Suddenly, two twin beds appear in the empty space, each with a decorative headboard and a striped mattress. Through a sequence of similar point of view cuts, Miss Arty continues to fill the bedroom with feminine decoration, frills, and elaborate edgings. A wardrobe appears in the corner by the fire. A dressing table and mirror are conjured in front of the window, bearing decoration that matches the elaboration on the headboards. Looking over to the fireplace, Miss Arty frowns and wrinkles her nose, ‘electric I suppose. So dull aren’t they. One must try and do something amusing about it’. Then, as she has an idea, her eyes widen and she smiles in excitement. ‘I know!’ There is a point of view cut to the fireplace, where there is now an electric fire in the shape of a peacock.

Switching focus to Miss Design, we see a close-up image of a regular electric fire. ‘Why shouldn’t an electric fire look like what it is?’

Figure 8: Peacock, *Designing Women* (COI, 1948).

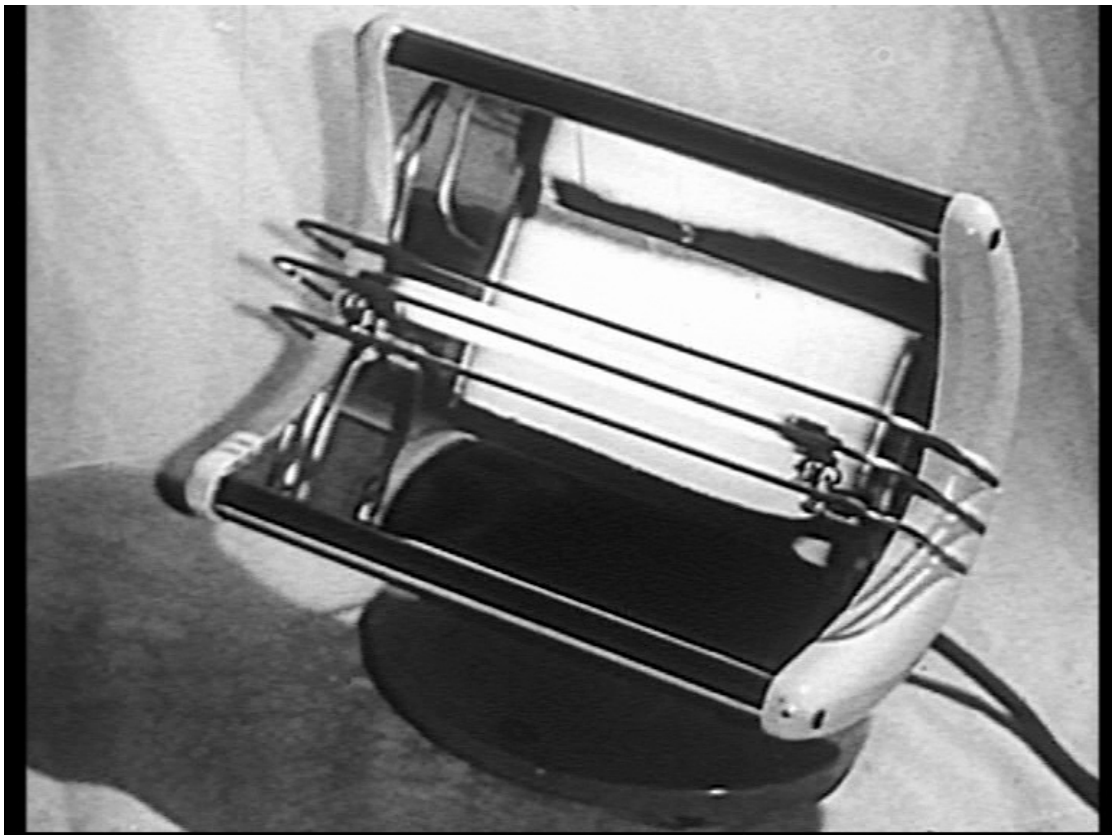

Figure 9: Electric Fire, *Designing Women* (COI, 1948).

The image is replaced by a second close-up of the peacock, ‘is this really an improvement?’ The camera cuts back to show the future Anna getting ready, and closes in to focus on the dressing table drawers. Part of the decorative edging is peeling off. Miss Design explains, ‘it wasn’t well made, just showy’. At the wardrobe, Tom is struggling to reach the clothes at the back because it is so deep. He resorts to taking out the clothes he can see, to reach those at the back. At this point the film cuts back to show Miss Design standing in the doorway, watching the future vision. She reminds the couple to think about ‘fitness for purpose’. We have come out of the dream sequence for this statement, signaling its importance to the film’s prescriptive lesson.

A further point of view cut shows Miss Design with Anna and Tom looking at one of the bed headboards where the edging is peeling off. As the camera zooms out, we see the future Anna and Tom in bed, struggling in awkward positions to try and read their books by the lights on the headboards, which are too low. They both hit their heads. We then move out of the dream sequence again, turning back to the three figures at the door. In response to the projected problems, Miss Design helps Anna imagine new pieces of furniture into the room, replacing those imagined by Miss Arty. She intercedes, ‘Don’t you think that aggressive looking shape would get rather tiresome?’ The shot closes in on the bedheads. Anna replies, ‘I suppose divans would be safer’. Miss Design nods, ‘And better’. When the film cuts back to the beds, the headboards have disappeared. Anna and Tom continue in this way to make practical adjustments to the room. Tom adds bookshelves above the bed, high enough that they will be able to sit comfortably underneath. A plain electric fire replaces the

peacock. A simpler dressing table replaces the one with fussy decoration. Two wardrobes replace the one large one, and simple lights are placed at practical points around the room.

Through the films of the COI, imaginary, mystical spaces and futures can be designed and visualised. Like the fashion stories told by British Pathé, this design narrative breaks the laws of time, allowing the impossible to become possible: through design, we can see the future. In *Designing Women* the future almost presents a dystopian fantasy, the result of an uninformed, distasteful imagination. By criticising the practicalities of Miss Arty's 'dream bedroom', the COI attempts to reconstruct the dreams and fantasies of their audience into wishes they can later fulfill, controlling and manipulating cultural imagination.

Having imagined the room into a practical living space, Miss Design encourages Anna to 'think of all the other little things you want'. We see a close-up on Anna's face as she looks around the room, her face illuminated in the new lighting, representing a sense of realisation and understanding that she did not have before, the 'after' image of her transformation. In point of view cuts we see Anna mentally replace the mirror above the fireplace with a picture. She removes the ornate clock and puts a simple clock in its place. Decorative vases are replaced with a usable vase, filled with flowers. The table of 'bric-a-brac' is discarded in favour of a sturdy chest of drawers topped with a simple lamp. Anna also conjures a vase of flowers onto the bookshelf, and a chair in front of the fire. In this 'after' image of transformation, Anna is empowered by her own agency. Having learned the COI's lesson, she is now able to put it into practice. We can

here see the visual grammar employed in a 1948 British government short as, filmed in close-up, Anna announces 'it's all quite clear now, I understand perfectly. It's just good taste, and common sense'. It is a scene that prefigures the didactic summative moment found in contemporary Hollywood films, as McDonald writes, 'Hollywood transformations reward the woman […] with a moment where she is praised and adored, held in close-up for both on-screen characters and audience'. [14]

This film arrives in a transitional period in Britain between rationing and conspicuous consumption. A hangover from the war, the state is promoting a practical, no waste approach to 'well made and simple' design on the one hand,[15] while stimulating an appetite for desirable consumable items on the other, bridging the remit of Pathé's *Make Do and Mend* films with those promoting post-war consumption. As in *Service into Civvies*, personal taste is introduced into the national design story in *Designing Women*, yet it is a less than subtly managed preference. When Miss Design instructs, 'you must ask: Is it attractive […] just exactly as you would ask it about your clothes', she leads the viewer to align her taste across the different facets of her life. The ghost reassures Anna that she will 'learn to recognise what shapes are good, what decorations and patterns, what colour combinations'. Despite promoting the concept of personal taste, this film suggests there is an objective hierarchical list of shapes, patterns and colours, a moral imperative underpinning design, based on a value system of smart consumption. At the end of the film Miss Arty and Miss Design disappear, along with the imagined furniture. Like Pathé's 'beauty on duty' character, Miss

[14] McDonald, p. 13.
[15] *Designing Women*.

Design is a construction of the COI's imagination. As the ghosts disappear, the furniture they have imagined fades away. The couple each opens their eyes, back in the kitchen with their impractical tea set where they were 'before' they made their wishes. 'After' her encounter, the wife is happy, 'I've got a funny feeling. I think I'm beginning to know what I want'. At the end of the film, Anna's desires are aligned with the desires of the COI.

In the same spirit as the *Make Do and Mend* films analysed in Chapter 3, this film's design narrative draws on ideas of 'intimacy, familiarity [and] ordinariness',[16] set in a modestly sized domestic space. This couple fits into what Breward and Wood would call a 'growing, affluent middle class [of the post-war period, who] embraced modern design'.[17] In a time of urban regeneration, when 'new kinds of living space created by denser living required new design solutions', this film is attempting to offer the answer.[18] By adapting to transitions in town planning and the relocation of 'large populations and industries from the overcrowded and bomb damaged cities' into residential tower blocks,[19] the domestic space in this film is being influenced by the transforming urban space it occupies. As Breward and Wood write, 'The drive for modernity in the [post-war] reconstruction of Britain was often mediated by a preoccupation with the past'.[20] Balanced between austerity and consumption, *Designing Women* narrates the process of national transition, between looking back, and moving forward.

[16] Moseley, 'Makeover Takeover', p. 313.
[17] Breward and Wood, 'Tradition and Modernity', p. 31.
[18] Ibid.
[19] Ibid.
[20] Ibid.

Architectural Storytelling

The Festival of Britain (1951) was an international event held in London that represented the national turn to design. London's South Bank was redesigned for the Festival, showcasing 'astonishing structures' of 'modern architecture' including the Skylon, the Dome of Discovery, and the Royal Festival Hall.[21] These structures represented visions for the physical construction of a 'new Britain', moving away from traditional London architecture and the conservative values it represented.

The COI produced a number of films around the time of the Festival of Britain, focusing on British design and architecture. These include *Brief City*, *Designed in Britain*, *Design for Today*, and *The Pacemakers: Basil Spence*.[22] In these films, architecture is presented as a vehicle for transformation. Made in 1952, *Brief City* presents a retrospective reflection on the Festival of Britain site. The COI describe this film as 'the story of London's festival buildings'.[23] At the time of its filming, much of the temporary site has been pulled down. The commentator describes its pre-destruction identity as being 'like a gigantic toy shop for adults'. The 'toy shop' combines make-believe and consumption, drawing the two together in one event. A place of play, imagination, and renewed youth, the Festival of Britain site is described as a fantasy place. Images of its remains are engulfed in smoke, as though shrouding the mysteries of a

[21] Christopher Breward and Ghislaine Wood, 'In the Service of the State: Change and Continuity in Design', in *British Design Since 1948*, p. 43.
[22] *Brief City*, dir. by Maurice Harvey and Jacques Brunius (The Central Office of Information, 1952); *Designed in Britain*, dir. by J B Napier-Bell (COI, 1959); *Design for Today*, dir. by Hugh Hudson (COI, 1965); *The Pacemakers: Basil Spence* (Central Office of Information, 1973).
[23] *Brief City*.

mythical land. To begin the site's 'story', the film travels back in time to images of the festival in full swing.

A national festival championed by the Labour government, the Festival of Britain was designed to 'demonstrate Britain's contribution to civilization, past, present, and future, in the arts, in science and technology, and in industrial design'.[24] The site for the festival was envisioned almost as a micro-city, to represent London's future through the showcasing of modern 'utopian' architecture.[25] It presented a place for ideas, creativity and imagined futures, offering 'a testing ground that helped a generation of architects explore new ideas unfettered'.[26] Supporting this view, the festival's site described in *Brief City* is presented as a place of possibility. The aim, according to the architect, was to avoid 'ceremonial avenues', 'great vistas' and 'repetitive grandeur', choosing instead to plan these spaces 'intimately', to project a sense of inclusivity and increase visitor engagement with the event. Through the narration provided by the film architectural choices are associated with a British sensibility that rejects social hierarchy and embraces equality, where 'the most powerful citizen in England, the Prime Minister, lives like a professional man in a plain house, on the side of a narrow cul-de-sac'.[27] Anyone can access the festival's site, in a city where 'the splendour of St Paul's Cathedral is throttled by drab warehouses'. Fantasy and the ordinary co-exist in cultural imagination, the fiction of a majestic London alongside the lived experience of its inhabitants.

---

[24] BBC, '1951: King George opens Festival of Britain', *On This Day 1950 - 2005,* <http://news.bbc.co.uk/onthisday/hi/dates/stories/may/3/newsid_2481000/2481099.stm> [accessed 02.02.2015].
[25] Breward and Wood, 'In the Service of the State', p. 43.
[26] Ibid.
[27] *Brief City*.

Through a combination of architecture and storytelling the impossible appears possible: 'the garden and terrace can be made to come right inside, or the roof to swing out over lawns. Staircases can arch apparently unsupported in the air'. Defying logic and gravity, the city can appear to defy the boundaries between reality and fiction, to the point where a 'Victorian block of flats' transforms into a 'fairy palace, crowned with a forest of flags and turrets'.[28] Clearly there is commonality between the COI's film of the city of London and Pathé's depiction of women in the construction of an anthropomorphic desire to become someone or something else: to be transformed.[29]

Promoted as a city of possibility, London acts as a location for the design publicity film *Designed in Britain*, released in 1959. The film documents an exhibition held at London's Design Centre, presenting a range of objects in a quick succession of images, to show 'how the world can be transformed by well-executed design'.[30] This spirit of optimism is visualised through products of British design, enhanced by a vibrant, upbeat, and energetic soundtrack, composed by Ken Moule. The film shows a female consumer perusing an electric hob. Closing her eyes as though making a wish, she imagines the variety of pans she could buy to accessorise the cooker. The consumer's wish is visualised in a dreamlike fantasy sequence, where the hob rings transform into artistic white spirals on a black background. The real item inspires the imagination, conjuring the image of an apparently attainable lifestyle that is, according to the film's commentary, 'glamorous, useful and open to all'. The explicit connection made here in the film's narration between glamour,

[28] Ibid.
[29] Cook, p. 45.
[30] *Designed in Britain*.

attainability and design runs parallel to the national narrative of fashion that it facilitates, of social mobility, aspiration, and wish fulfillment. The transformation stories in these narratives of London point to a fantasy future of designed living, attainable through the consumption of a range of domestic goods. The film features display table settings laid out for a staged dinner, claiming, 'good design cannot be confined to the things we use; it has to be concerned with the way we live'. By buying into table settings, the consumer is buying into an idealised lifestyle that is not only concerned with the home, but also 'schools, […] offices, even towns and cities'.[31] This film encourages its audience to imagine those spaces through the prism of design, as part of the same narrative that encourages spectators to imagine cities through fashion.

These stories place the objects of 'tomorrow' in an increasingly global context. In *Designed in Britain*, the narrator explains, 'When the designer has done his work, the world must see it'. Shots of airplanes are interspersed with images of design objects, the aircraft exporting these products of British design, but also, perhaps metaphorically transporting the viewers to images of a utopian, design city. The authenticity of this future is leveraged on national heritage, the 'good design and fine craftsmanship […] traditional in Britain [such as] Chippendale [and] Wedgewood'. In this future, the prestige of national design is no longer exclusively available for the 'few'; it is designed for the 'mass market'. The 'newest and best in British design' are displayed as 'everyday articles'.[32] The film ends showing people enjoying and occupying their new

[31] Ibid.
[32] Ibid.

offices, homes, shops and towns. In these final images, the fantasy future accessed through the objects on display at London Design Centre is realised. The discourse of possibility in these films threads together the everyday with a more ethereal tone of romance. In the COI's 1973 film *The Pacemakers: Basil Spence*, the role of the architect is described as 'interpreter of the age'.[33] According to the architect Basil Spence who is interviewed in the film, buildings act as a vessel for the application of new ideas that can be inventive, or new, modernist, or most significantly, romantic.[34] Spence describes the New York City landscape as an, 'extraordinary, romantic skyline with the great skyscrapers'. For this architect, romance is the key to bringing together the ordinary and the sublime, and past and future. He argues, 'to anyone other than a romantic, [it is] an impossible task to be at once modern yet nostalgic'.

Fashion is part of the COI's dialogue with architecture. In this selection of COI films, design and architecture share the same narratives as Pathé's fashion films, through a discourse of newness, possibility, accessibility, romance, illusion, and fantasy. In *The Pacemakers* film celebrating Basil Spence, images of girls wearing miniskirts are shown walking through the Sussex University campus that he has designed. Fashions inhabit the COI's design spaces, fixing them in time through the definition of fashion moments embodied here by reference to Mary Quant and the miniskirt. In their promotional strategy of using design to define eras of time in place, it is not only buildings and architecture that are important to the COI's image of Britain, but their relationship with the fashions that occupy them. The director of *Design for Today* Hugh Hudson

[33] *The Pacemakers: Basil Spence*.
[34] Ibid.

writes of early sixties London 'as the era of Terence Conran and Habitat, Biba and Mary Quant, the Sunday Times colour supplement, photographers Bailey and Donovan, the Mini and the miniskirt'.[35] In this, Hudson defines London through reference to fashion and design icons. This relationship between fashion, design, and London architecture is also described by Breward, when he writes of how commercial architecture styles in the sixties 'responded to the changed context of an increasingly youthful British population'.[36]

These COI films present the intersection of design, architecture and fashion in the imaging of a new post-war Britain. As well as providing a filmic setting for fashion narratives, the city is a place spectators can visit to see fashion stores, walk down fashion streets, and purchase outfits, a space for fashion presentation, promotion, and consumption to take place. Through these films, the physical rebuilding of London in the post-war period accompanies the reconstruction of its image as a global fashion capital. This attempt to move forward through design narratives leads us from the old traditions of women, fashion, and the home, into a new world where women and their fashions can begin to occupy an urban environment. This shift leads on from the fifties transition described by Christine Geraghty, in which filmic women were becoming increasingly associated with paid work which occurred, necessarily, outside the domestic space.[37]

---

[35] Hugh Hudson, 'Design for Today', in *The COI Collection Volume Two: Design for Today DVD booklet,* ed. by BFI (London: BFI, 2010), pp. 8- 9.
[36] Christopher Breward, 'Boutiques and Beyond: The Rise of British Fashion', in *British Design from 1948,* pp. 202-19 (p. 205).
[37] Geraghty, *British Cinema in the Fifties,* p. 29.

A New Generation of Consumer

According to Breward and Wood, Britain's cultural focus on design shifted in the late fifties and early sixties, 'from the infrastructure of cities and transport networks to the more mobile surfaces of the body and the exciting spaces of pleasure: 'homes, shops, restaurants and clubs'.[38] A collection of COI films emerged that focused exclusively on British fashion, building on the post-war promotion of British design and architecture in the films described above, as well as the government's wartime interest in British fashion. The promotional fashion films of the COI at this time 'were produced with one eye firmly fixed on Britain's image abroad and one eye firmly fixed on the export balance sheet'.[39]

These films began at the point where the British fashion industry was released from the constraints of the Utility clothing scheme and moved into a new era of freedom in British design.[40] Teenagers, in plentiful supply by the end of the fifties thanks to the post-war baby boom, became a critical part of the post-war economy. The 'teenager' was a newly invented category of the fifties, influenced by American popular culture. Jonathon Green explains,

> A word so emblematic of the modern world, it [the term teenager] emerged in America, moved gradually across the Atlantic and had reached its fullest flower as the sixties began. The years between thirteen and twenty had never existed in so totemic and autonomous a way. Now, in the post-war decades, teenage life began its gradual move to centre-stage. The most important goal was the gaining of one's own income –

[38] Christopher Breward, and Ghislaine Wood, 'Subversion 1955-97', in *British Design from* 1948, pp. 144-55 (p. 145).
[39] BFI, 'Disc 2: Fashion', in *The COI Collection Volume Two: Design for Today*, DVD booklet (London: BFI, 2010).
[40] The Utility clothing scheme ended in 1952.

> one spent it on consumption and on carving out a small corner of the world for oneself.[41]

As wage earners, teenagers had far more discretionary income than the adolescents of their parents' generation, and created an unprecedented shift in the habits of mass consumption. As the nation's adolescent youth on the brink of adulthood, teenagers represented the next generation of British life. Their 'gradual, ever-intensifying sense of one's own potential', suggested that they might be citizens through which the nation could imagine a new future, aligning them perfectly with the forward-looking ideologies of both fashion and London.[42]

The shifting focus from women's clothing towards teenage fashions of the sixties is charted in the promotional COI export film *Sixty Years of Fashion*, a filmic parade of the past, which chronicles British style changes since the beginning of the twentieth-century.[43] The twenty-minute film is mostly filmed in long shot, and presented in colour, to privilege the vision of each complete outfit. Described by Jenny Hammerton as a 'sales pitch to potential overseas buyers', this film utilises a 'slightly dismissive', 'flippant', and 'jokey' male voiceover to discuss fashions from the first half of the twentieth-century.[44] However, once the film's narration reaches the post-war New Look and continues to 1960, the male voice is replaced by a more assertive, promotional female narration.

---

[41] Jonathon Green, *All Dressed Up: The Sixties and the Counterculture* (London: Pimlico, 1999) [first published in 1998], p. x.
[42] Ibid.
[43] *Sixty Years of Fashion*, dir. by Sam Napier-Bell (The Central Office of Information, 1960).
[44] Jenny Hammerton, 'Sixty Years of Fashion', in *The COI Collection Volume Two: Design for Today*, DVD booklet, p. 14.

The first half of the film moves through a chronological history of style changes from the beginning of the twentieth-century to 1960, its year of release. This first half of the film presents a mixture of paintings and re-enactments, both representations and artistic impressions of historical events. One of the most striking themes of this film is the British royal family. The first image following the opening credits is a painting of Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee, which took place in 1897. It is a colourful image of a royal event, presenting guards in red uniforms with gold edging, decorated horses and crowds of waving subjects. Fashion is also linked with sovereignty in the film's commentary. 'The country decked itself to meet a new century, and a new sovereign'.[45] The nation is here described as a character engaged in dressing up, and the royal family is used to demarcate eras of time, defining official fashion moments in British history.

The film's story of British fashion history also follows a British colonialist tradition. The narrator asks, 'Was it the vivid sets and dresses of […] [the] ballet, or the oriental creations of the French designer Paul Poiret that most influenced the dramatic change in fashion in the year 1910?' The narration continues, 'whichever it was, it was certain that all the great fashion houses sought inspiration from the gorgeous East'.[46] This description of Eastern fashion conforms to a history of 'orientalism' famously described and critiqued by Edward Said. Said discusses the Orient as a 'European invention', a romantic place filled with 'exotic beings, haunting memories and landscapes, [and] remarkable experiences'.[47] He describes orientalism as 'a way of coming to terms with the Orient that is based on the Orient's special place in European

[45] *Sixty Years of Fashion*.
[46] Ibid.
[47] Edward W. Said, *Orientalism* (London: Penguin, 1978), p. 1.

Western experience',[48] and argues that, set up in relation to the West, 'the Orient has helped to define Europe […] as its contrasting image, idea, personality, experience'.[49] Rather than 'an airy European fantasy',[50] Said argues 'The Orient is an integral part of European *material* civilization and culture'.[51] Through the telling of stories about the East, British films conjure an image that is transformed into something real by its 'presence in and for the West'.[52] In contrast to contemporary ideas of cosmopolitanism and world citizenship discussed in Chapter 1, the COI's discussion of 'oriental' fashions influencing national designs draws on and perpetuates a tradition of mythological narratives about 'the East', told as part of promotional campaigns celebrating the style of 'the West'.

In the story of *Sixty Years of Fashion* British fashion is shown to change simultaneously with socio-political changes in Britain, with fashion as a way of telling a historical tale. A propaganda poster showing an image of Lord Kitchener, Secretary of State at the beginning of the First World War, calling the country to arms is set against paintings of women in uniform doing war work during World War I, and the fashions are described as having a 'military air.' [53] There is also acknowledgment of the shifts to British fashion brought about by the Suffragettes, as their clothing became looser and less restrictive, in accordance with their changing social identity and status.[54] As the film's history of Britain, and simultaneously British fashion, reaches 1939, its mise-en-scène

[48] Ibid., p. 1.
[49] Ibid., pp. 1-2.
[50] Ibid., p. 6.
[51] Ibid., p. 2. Emphasis as in original.
[52] Ibid., p. 5.
[53] *Sixty Years of Fashion*.
[54] Catherine McDermott, *Made in Britain* (London: Mitchell Beazley, 2002), p. 25.

includes painted images of war and of people sitting out air raids in tube stations wearing utility clothing. When upbeat victory music is played on the soundtrack, the accompanying image is of a woman in a navy blue coat with red buttons, holding a white neck scarf almost like a peace flag. Three women are seen marching in a studio (highlighting the constructed storytelling of this presented historical account) in red dresses, making a 'V for Victory' sign with their right hands. This combination of the colour red with the symbol of victory could symbolise a number of themes, including London, royalty, and a modern British sensibility about women, all of which suggest a newly formed post-war British identity. The image of female fashion consumers copying this gesture further ties together notions of government interest in British fashion, as well as alluding to their role in the promotion of the 'Made in Britain' label.

Figure 10: 'V for Victory', *Sixty Years of Fashion* (COI, 1960).

Christine Geraghty discusses the 'feminine role' of the Labour government's 1945 'nanny state', in 'supporting and caring for its citizens at a time of post-war

crisis', associating state responsibility with female concerns. She writes of the post-war period as a time 'in which the role of women in marriage and their attitudes to domesticity were under scrutiny',[55] and cites the way Gainsborough's costume melodramas responded by presenting women 'as active, able to affect the progress of history'.[56] Writing that 'women in films of this period stand in for nation',[57] Geraghty also discusses a post-war trend in Ealing's films, for placing women 'in a position of choice' as to the sacrifices they are prepared to make for community and national good.[58] Corresponding with developing post-war notions of women's 'social responsibilities' to 'the restoration of home life', as well as to the British workforce and the British economy, women and their fashions are presented in the COI's 'V for Victory' image as having a historical, national, and political resonance.

Through use of the same references, commercial and government film companies work together to tell a representative history of Britain. In this way, history is simplified through the film, into a logical, linear narrative of action followed by consequence. In telling a story of British history and linking this story with the development of British fashion, *Sixty Years of Fashion* presents a highly considered strategy of national storytelling. It is an ironic strategy if viewed against the title of the Labour Government's post-war *Let Us Face the Future* campaign (discussed in Chapter 3), as the COI was here facing the future by turning to a reliance on the past to secure national economics. By building the royal family, the Suffragettes, and the two World Wars into the story of the

[55] Geraghty, *British Cinema in the Fifties*, p. 81.
[56] Ibid., p. 82.
[57] Ibid.
[58] Ibid.

British fashion brand, the COI can be seen to promote pride in a complete national history where each element was perfectly integrated as a part of the same narrative success.

The second half of *Sixty Years of Fashion* builds on this story, but critically turns the history of the British fashion industry into a commodity. The action now moves from the studio onto location. Filmed in central London, the second half of the film is separated from the first by a visual grounding in a real physical place. Located somewhere spectators can visit, the fashions in this half of the film also appear more attainable. An advertisement for British industry, the film displays montaged images of youthful female models posing, hand on hip, in front of symbols of British export, including an airport departures building, and the Commonwealth Institute in London, continuing the celebration of Britain's colonial past. Here, images are also used to make unequivocal links between British cultural geography, British export, and British fashion. The film ends with a female fashion model boarding an airplane set for 'New York, 'Beirut,' 'Paris,' and 'Adelaide,' to showcase British fashions abroad.[59] The commentary declares:

> Now, with ever growing efficiency, exports are soaring. British clothes are on the move. All over the world, whatever their age, their income or their way of life, women look to London for ready to wear fashions at prices they can afford.

[59] *Sixty Years of Fashion*.

Directed at women 'whatever their age, their income or their way of life',[60] this statement is an appeal to an accessible lifestyle that promotes a relationship between fashion and travel. The plane being boarded wears the BEA logo for British European Airways.

Figure 11: Flags, *Sixty Years of Fashion* (COI, 1960).

The plane takes off and the film ends, having made its point clear, that British fashion is sold abroad.

Through identification with the image of a jet-setting model, the female spectator is invited to imagine a transformed future, in which she occupies exciting spaces away from the home. This move from the domestic interiors of the COI's earlier design films to the capital city is perhaps made to appeal to the growing teenage target audience who dreamt of inhabiting the urban landscape. This marks a shift in the state's marketing strategies to focus on the newly categorised teenager, reflecting the ironic influence of American popular culture

[60] Ibid.

on British campaigns for domestic, and export fashion consumption. Christine Geraghty outlines the importance of the youth market to the cinema industry at this time, as '[c]hanging leisure patterns, including the arrival of television, meant that increasingly distributors and exhibitors relied on young people for their audiences'.[61] Geraghty draws attention to the ways in which feature films of the era focused on 'the concepts of youth […] characteristic of the social and political discourses of the time'.[62] In particular, Geraghty argues that 'As debates on the sexual behaviour of young people took centre-stage in the discussion of youth', the image of the 'middle-class, educated teenage girl who has a measure of control over her own pleasure and behaviour', became critical.[63] The particular way in which this was achieved, she argues, was that the teenage girl would be 'placed firmly within the context of consumption'.[64]

Conspicuous Consumption

Throughout the sixties, the COI fashion films continued to focus on teenage consumers, who were often aligned with desirable images of London that were being promoted in other forms of popular culture. These include the American *Time* magazine article published on 15 April 1966, which coined the term 'Swinging' London.[65] This idea of 'Swinging London' refers to an abundance of London's youth-orientated attractions, such as fashion boutiques and coffee bars. It forms one of the strongest images of recent British history in cultural memory

[61] Christine Geraghty, 'Women and Sixties British Cinema: The Development of the "Darling" Girl', in *The British Cinema Book* third edn. ed. by Robert Murphy (BFI, 2009) [first published in 1997], pp. 313-20 (p. 314).
[62] Ibid.
[63] Ibid., p. 315.
[64] Ibid.
[65] Mendes and De La Haye, pp. 179-80.

and is still frequently referred to in contemporary media as a time of success for the British fashion industry and the British economy.

As a celebrated fashion figure of 'Swinging London,' the designer Mary Quant was often a subject of COI films. A British fashion designer and trendsetter, Quant's fame was produced by extensive media attention, which resulted in her global celebrity, and international mass-market success. The art and fashion historian Caroline Evans, details the Quant phenomenon.

> Quant rapidly moved to the fashion mainstream through astute merchandising. She started wholesaling in 1961 and launched the Ginger Group in 1963 to franchise her slightly cheaper designs for mass-manufacture. American deals followed, as did Quant cosmetics and underwear that sported the famous Quant daisy […] In 1966 she was awarded an OBE for her services to fashion exports as part of prime-minister Harold Wilson's aggressive capitalisation on the pop and fashion cultures of the city.[66]

The fact that Quant named one of her chalk striped tunics 'The Bank of England' may have been an ironic statement, mocking the conservatism of the British Establishment.[67] However, considering that her clothing line was a hugely successful British export, it also seems to be an appropriate name. In addition, the name acts as a wider reference to the fashion and tailoring industry of London and its role in British economy.

---

[66] Caroline Evans, 'Post-War Poses: 1955-75', in *The London Look: Fashion from Street to Catwalk,,* ed. by Christopher Breward, Edwina Ehrman, and Caroline Evans (London: Yale University Press in association with the Museum of London, 2004), pp. 117-37 (p. 125).
[67] Mendes and De La Haye, p. 179.

Mary Quant made the mini-skirt famous and a highly desirable fashion item. It is prominently featured in *Miniskirts Make Money*, a one-minute film from 1968, filmed inside a London fashion boutique called 'Lady Jane's' on London's Carnaby Street.[68]

Figure 12: Lady Jane's of Carnaby St, *Miniskirts Make Money* (COI, 1968).

Place names on street signs and shopping bags visible inside the boutique confirm the location, perpetuating ideas of London as a trendsetting global city and Carnaby Street as a place for young people to meet up and have fun. Once the geography of the film is established, London as a consumption site is connected with iconic tourist images of London. The montage of icons includes a red post box, a traditional British symbol, and a poster advertising the dance theatre Sadler's Wells. Later on in the film, we see brief glimpses of Union Jack flags. Through its display of London's icons, the film showcases the 'Britishness' of British design. Lest we forget the marketing purpose of this film, one of its key images is that of American dollar bills, being placed inside a till.

[68] *Miniskirts Make Money* (Central Office of Information, 1968).

At one point in *Miniskirts Make Money*, a girl puts up a poster that reads 'I want to expose myself'.

Figure 13: 'I Want to Expose Myself' *Miniskirts Make Money*, (COI, 1968).

Consumption has become about what women 'want', as oppose to what they need. Fulfilling the poster girl's wish the camera focuses on the bare legs of women, sitting in offices or trying on clothes in the boutique, tying a consumer's fashion fantasy together with Mary Quant, the miniskirt, youth, and 'Swinging London.' There is a marked change in the fantasy discourse invoked through this film, which presents a female desire for liberation, exposure, and display. Women are shown sitting in offices, and out shopping, dressed in short skirts, and see-through dresses. Reflected in these fashions, London is depicted as a distinctively female city, marketed towards teenage girls and young professional women. It is necessary here to acknowledge that these are COI invoked fantasies,

designed to influence the desires of their audiences. Contradicting notions of women's liberation, Christine Geraghty writes of concerns voiced by liberal commentators of the time, 'about how far a desire to conform lay behind her [the teenage girl's] purchases, making her prey to the designs of big businesses, […] the media', and the state.[69] However, the notion of conformity also here conflicts with the freedom of personal choice. Geraghty continues, 'Nevertheless, in some senses the attempts of advertising, magazines and television to appeal to the young woman reinforced the impression that she was exercising choices which she could willfully withdraw'.[70] In this sense, the cultural association between women and consumption was imbuing them with an increasing sense of independence and consumer power, 'a way of claiming feminine identity' to use as a 'mode of self-expression', pertaining particularly to sexuality.[71]

In 1970, the COI made a film about Biba, the Kensington fashion boutique with affordable prices, highly popular with the fashion conscious newly financed British teenagers. The film is part of *The Pacemakers* series that produced the film on Basil Spence in 1973, and is simply called *Biba*.[72] As 'pacemakers', Biba's founders Barbara Hulanicki and Stephen Fitz-Simon are described as 'people who change the world they live in'.[73] Setting trends in fashion and consumer behaviour, Biba is 'changing Britain today'.[74] The opening shot of Hulanicki and Fitz-Simon walking down Kensington High Street again specifically locates the film, along with the Biba business model and its forward

[69] Geraghty, 'Women and Sixties British Cinema', p. 315.
[70] Ibid.
[71] Ibid., p. 317.
[72] *The Pacemakers: Biba*.
[73] Ibid.
[74] Ibid.

looking fashions, in London. A London bus in the background is a globally recognisable, iconic marker, which creates a physical, visual grounding for the film. The commentator states: 'If Barbara and her husband Stephen Fitz-Simon walk down London's Kensington High Street with an independent air, it's not surprising. They own part of it, in the shape of a brand new department store'.[75] The film explains how London influences Biba's designs, and yet, in staking claim over part of the city, fashion is cyclically influencing London. This is continued when the commentator speaks of Biba as 'a way of life'. The film shows teenagers browsing and shopping in the store, inhabiting this space of fashion consumption that has been designed for them. Hulanicki describes shopping as a process in identity formation, that allows consumers to 'really use their imaginations and develop their personalities'. To facilitate this, Hulanicki and Fitz-Simon have tried to 'give a sort of make-believe atmosphere'.[76] Hulanicki explains, 'I think people just need somewhere to go where it's not down to earth'. Like film, the fictive element of shopping is a process of escape from the old and the everyday, which allows female consumers to embody a new sense of self.

In this film, Fitz-Simon explains that the Biba business model runs on a three-week design delivery cycle, the period of time between an item of clothing being designed, and being available in store. The availability of affordable, mainstream fashion that works almost 'at the moment of sale' begins to engender a conspicuous consumption that is about the present rather than the future, because clothes are no longer a long-term investment. Hulanicki details,

[75] Ibid.
[76] Ibid.

> The average weekly wage for a girl at the time would have been about £9 and her rent might have been about £3 per week. Most of the depressing brown sacks that were available to buy cost anywhere between £6 and £10, so even these were out of the reach of our potential customers. Fitz had the idea of keeping all our dresses at £3, a price point that was unheard of at the time. This meant that our girls could buy themselves a new dress every week and still have money left over.[77]

According to Hulanicki, in an emerging throwaway fashion culture, the person you are today does not necessarily represent who you will be tomorrow. It is possible to try on and play out different identities, without having to commit to them. Biba's consumers could apparently change their self-image along with their wardrobes every three weeks.

Biba was part of the formation of a mainstream, cross-Atlantic shopping culture. Hulanicki explains: 'Although Biba came out of the unique needs and desires of girls in the British scene of the time, it was extremely well received abroad […]. Our overseas success was really driven by the cosmetics'.[78] The COI's selection process was clear in its financial motive for British economy. *The Pacemakers: Biba* was made in 1970, six years after the first Biba store opened in 1964, and one year after the opening of the second, penultimate store in 1969. Towards the end of the film, Fitz-Simon speaks about plans to open a Biba store in New York. Instead of focusing on the individual design talents of Barbara Hulanicki, *The Pacemakers: Biba* instead attributes Hulanicki's skill to the city of London that she inhabits, 'all ideas start in London, whatever the

[77] Barbara Hulanicki, 'Biba', in *British Design from* 1948, pp. 220-23 (p. 221).
[78] *The Pacemakers: Biba*.

journalists say'.[79] Biba is showcased not as the outstanding result of a couple's achievements, but as another example of a London success story.

Figure 14: The Pacemakers, *The Pacemakers: Biba* (COI, 1970).

The Pacemakers was a 26-part colour cinemagazine running from 1969-1971, broadcast only outside the UK.[80] According to Becky Vick, it was sponsored by the Foreign and Commonwealth Office, aimed towards the 'National self-promotion of talent on an international stage', of Britain as 'a technocratic, post-imperialist culture'.[81]

The post-war films of the COI also present the emergence of multi-national programme format selling, which appears to be a new common practice in television. *This Week in Britain 750: Men's Fashions*,[82] is the English

[79] Ibid.
[80] Becky Vick, 'The Pacemakers: Biba', in *The COI Collection Volume Two: Design for Today*, DVD booklet, pp. 15-16.
[81] Ibid.
[82] *This Week in Britain 750: Men's Fashions*, dir. by John Lyndon (The Central Office of Information, 1973).

language version of *24 Horas*,[83] a film made for release in Mexico in 1970 that begins to move on from traditional sixties images of London. Both of these films are almost identical in content, the main difference being that one was made primarily for Australia, and one was made for release in Mexico. A female presenter presents the Australian version of the film in English, while the Mexican version is presented in Mexican-Spanish by a male presenter. The key visible difference is that the Mexican film is produced in colour, while the Australian film is produced in black and white, suggesting perhaps that more emphasis (and money) was spent on export releases targeted outside the Commonwealth. Both films open with montage images of men's suits displayed in shop windows, whilst various iconic shop names are displayed as the camera pans the street: Take Six, The Peppermint Lounge, Kween's mini-store, The Common Market, Clouds, The Squire Shop and Nutters, as well as a Kings Road street sign tying the shop titles together under the name of one street. There are tilting camera angles throughout the film but particularly evident in the opening frames, which act to present the King's Road, and by association, London, as edgy and off-kilter, a recurring motif of London's unique selling point.

[83] *24 Horas (24 Hours): Men's Fashions* (Central Office of Information, 1973).

Figure 15: Dancing on the Bus, *24 Horas: Men's Fashions* (COI, 1973).

In both versions, a London bus is seen reflected in one of the shop windows in an opening shot. However, visible in the colour version of the film, the bus is not London's traditional red; it is multi-coloured. Here, the familiar image of London has been imprinted with its new seventies identity. The two are connected, and whilst the underlying symbol continues to define the street as a London-centric one, the displacement of its famous colour implies that London is being shaken up. Its identity is both familiar and new. In a similar fashion, the film promotes the suits of Tommy Nutter, a Savile Row tailor. Whilst implicated in the traditional narrative of Savile Row, Nutter's designs feature bold and brazen patterns. London is being promoted as both new and traditional. Its story has been added to, rather than replaced.

However, the image of sixties London retains a strong presence in the COI's fashion films of the seventies. In 1974, the COI made another film that highlighted Mary Quant's influence on global fashion. As part of the *This Week*

in Britain series,[84] *The Mary Quant Show* celebrated the exhibition 'Mary Quant's London,' held at the London Museum, Kensington Palace, between November 29, 1973 and June 30, 1974. The holding of an exhibition about British fashion in one of the royal palaces is a reinvocation of the trope that associates the British fashion industry with the British royal family, to be returned to in more detail in the next chapter. By the sixties, members of the monarchy were themselves making this association. In 1960, Queen Elizabeth II's sister Princess Margaret married Anthony Armstrong-Jones, a popular high society photographer whose subjects included fashion. It is possible that the location of the exhibition was planned to promote the fashionability of the British royal family as much as it was to promote the British fashion industry, in an increasingly anarchic decade.

The opening shots of *The Mary Quant Show* present a model posing for the camera in Quant's unmistakable striped tights with the Quant daisy emblem on the waistband. References to sixties 'Swinging London' are made here through the inclusion of clips from filmed interviews with David Bailey and Jean Shrimpton. These extracts are placed among images of models posing in front of London city office blocks in scenes reminiscent and directly referencing the iconic Bailey/Shrimpton British *Vogue* shoot in New York, which took place in the Spring of 1963; the shoot was famous for changing the classic style of fashion photography to a much more youthful, playful, and, significantly, urban aesthetic. In referencing this shoot, the COI is clearly attempting to connect ideas of London with the glamour of New York, whilst simultaneously staking claim

[84] *This Week in Britain 791: The Mary Quant Show*.

over the new style of fashion photography in reference to British *Vogue*. The film emphasises the angular lines of the city of London and connects them with the angular lines of British designed clothes (such as Quant's tunic mini-dresses and dungarees), as well as the angular lines of the short British hairstyle or 'bob' synonymous with London hair-dresser Vidal Sassoon, often associated with Quant's fashions. One of the models shown is Twiggy, who was regularly photographed by Bailey. The strategy, employed in this seventies film, also suggests that British identity is accruing and drawing on an increasingly fashion-conscious heritage, already referencing the 'Swinging Sixties' as a fashion moment in the national past, and claiming it as an enduring characteristic of its image.

Figure 16: Twiggy, *This Week in Britain 791: The Mary Quant Show* (COI, 1974).

The reality of Mary Quant's 'Swinging London,' apart from the media's coordinated and edited view of London, is, in fact, debatable. Caroline Evans argues that 'Swinging London' was a myth, created for foreign export, which

had 'already become a little ossified.'[85] After Carnaby Street was turned into a tourist site, it was passé, and the 'fashion cognoscenti' moved 'west towards the Portobello Road.'[86] Moreover, with the rise of the Teddy boys in the fifties, of Mods and Rockers in the sixties, and the punks of the mid-seventies, Quant clearly could not claim ownership of the city's fashion reputation. The narrator of *The Mary Quant Show* says, 'Mary Quant's London was a London in the throes of a bloodless revolution. It all started in the mid-fifties, and its leaders were the young.'[87] The film here notes that the shift to teenage consumption began in the fifties long before the miniskirt.

The Mary Quant Show squarely distances social revolution from the Teddy boys with their reputed 'armouries of flick-knives, bicycle chains and worse',[88] and the later, anti-fashion attitudes of the punks, placing it firmly on short skirted pin-up girls, wearing polka-dots and stripes, who posed for photographers and helped sell British clothes. It was a cultivated image, a representation of London that ignored the rising rejection of state control by youth during this period and the political unrest, partly provoked by rumours of an imminent nuclear war and by the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament (CND). This rebellious attitude carried over into wider anti-Establishment perceptions, including awareness of the politics of consumption and opposition to the state-promoted culture of fashion. Anti-consumer fashions, such as those created in the hippie and the punk movements, and associated politics were taken up by a group of British teenagers who offered 'a parallel and quite contrary nirvana to

[85] Evans, 'Post-War Poses', p. 126.
[86] Ibid.
[87] *The Mary Quant Show*.
[88] Green, p. 5.

the "white heat" of Prime Minister Wilson's technological revolution'.[89] If acknowledged in the COI films, this underground, which 'had its own media – newspapers, magazines, film, theatre and even fledgling video,'[90] would not, perhaps, have benefitted the British fashion industry's export finances quite so well.

Marketing Rebellion

In the eighties however, the COI began to recognise the marketable potential of rebellious British youth and their fashions as export commodities; in particular, the work coming out of London art schools such as Central Saint Martins, Goldsmiths, and the Royal College of Art. *Insight: Zandra Rhodes* is a COI film about the punk-influenced British fashion designer, and was directed by Peter Greenaway.[91]

Figure 17: West End Punx, *Insight: Zandra Rhodes* (COI, 1981).

[89] Ibid., p. xi.
[90] Ibid.
[91] *Insight: Zandra Rhodes*.

The film marks a shift in the COI's projection of Britain because it acknowledges the anti-Establishment political subculture of the punk movement. It depicts images of youths with shaved heads, facial piercings and tattoos who are wearing Dr. Martens boots, studded leather jackets, chains, and coats with slogans like 'West End Punx' sprawled across the back. Bonnie English has discussed the work of Rhodes in the historical context of the seventies and eighties, and writes of clothing of the period 'as a counter-cultural device'.[92]

Street style presented a dissatisfaction of youth with social values, with clothes serving as a form of protest.[93] Punk is often classed as a subculture, defined by Alan Sinfield as a collaboration forged to 'help the groups who are ill at ease in the dominant culture' to 'build a common story' to establish against rivals, and to 'manage the diverse, often contradictory histories and demands that they experience'.[94] In this sense, one would expect subcultural style to be set up against the dominant culture being promoted in the COI's films. However, Dick Hebdige discusses the commodification and appropriation of culture produced in marginal, oppositional positions. He talks about the tensions created by the differing levels at which youths engage with subculture, and its frequent diffusion into the mainstream fashion culture of the 'unimaginative majority'.[95] He suggests,

> Subcultural deviance is simultaneously rendered "explicable" and meaningless in the classrooms, courts and media at the same time as the

[92] Bonnie English, *A Cultural History of Fashion in the 20th Century: From the Catwalk to the Sidewalk* (Oxford: Berg, 2007), p. 77.
[93] Ibid., p. 96.
[94] Sinfield, p. 153.
[95] Dick Hebdige, *Subculture: the Meaning of Style* (London; New York: Routledge, 1979), p. 122.

> "secret" objects of subcultural style are put on display in every high street record shop and chain-store boutique. Stripped of its unwholesome connotations, the style becomes fit for public consumption.[96]

In its similar display of subcultural style, the COI film transforms the subversive ethos of punk culture into a family friendly fashion show, 'designed and packaged for a market slot'.[97]

While it documents how fashion has changed dramatically, the stories of Britain's fashion heritage in *Insight: Zandra Rhodes* remain the same. British fashion export is still a recurring theme in their output, although subtler. As Rhodes talks about the fashion industry, we see her walking through an airport with a following shot of a plane taking off, echoing *Sixty Years of Fashion* released twenty-one years earlier. Shots of a fashion show in the urban, industrial environment of a train station connect fashion with travel, transport, and export as well as with the urban landscape. Specific geographical indicators of London are present in the image of a London Liverpool Street station sign, just visible behind a moving train.

The motif of royalty is also ever present through the film's narration. Rhodes, who designed gowns for Princess Diana, says, 'I dress the Duchess of Kent.'[98] As she makes this remark, she is walking through an airport, a nod to the exportable potential of royal dress. Rhodes continues, telling her audience that she designed a dress for Princess Anne. There was an anarchic attitude prevalent among the punk movement of the seventies, epitomised by the appropriation of

---

[96] Ibid., p. 130.
[97] Sinfield, p. 177.
[98] *Insight: Zandra Rhodes*.

the Queen's head on the Sex Pistol's 'God Save the Queen' record cover.[99] However, there is a long media tradition of associating the British royal family with the British fashion industry (explored in detail in Chapter 5). *Insight: Zandra Rhodes* is here drawing on this media tradition in its promotion of punk fashion, ignoring the irony that punk ideology was often politically opposed to the monarchy. Rhodes' association with royalty is cemented when she tells the audience that she was made 'Royal Designer for Industry,' an honour for which she received a scroll from Prince Philip, the husband of Queen Elizabeth II.

Towards the end of the film, Rhodes highlights the centrality of 'Britishness' to her designs thereby cementing the exportable 'British' appeal of her clothes.

> I don't think I could have designed like I do if I wasn't British. When people buy a Zandra Rhodes they are buying a Zandra Rhodes that is my own character, and my character is formed by the fact that I am English and have an English way of looking at it.

In this statement, Rhodes credits her British heritage, as the inspiration for her designs. Rhodes also admits that she sees herself as a national 'figurehead.' Here we can see the great contradiction in Rhodes' work. English observes, rather than embrace anti-capitalist, anti-consumer, and anti-Establishment political values associated with the punk style, Rhodes took the punks' aesthetic and re-appropriated it to make money. Along with other British fashion designers and musicians of the time who capitalised on the punk movement, Rhodes commodified and undermined the punk ethos. By choosing to promote the punk

[99] 'God Save the Queen', written and performed by The Sex Pistols, from *Never Mind the Bollocks, Here's The Sex Pistols* (Wessex Sound Studios, 1977).

style as seen through Rhodes, the COI diminishes the movement's social value, currency, and arguably its aesthetic by claiming it as their own, in order to increase its economic value to non-punk fashion industrialists.

We can see a legacy of the post-war COI films in fashion film and media coverage today. In a 2009 retrospective documentary *Beyond Biba* released by the BFI, clear connecting motifs are visible to the 1970 COI short.[100] This film again opens with unmistakable, iconic shots of London in the first minute of footage, connecting Hulanicki's work to the specific geography of Britain's capital city. Images of Hulanicki at her recent art exhibition with iconic British stars Kate Moss and Twiggy, again continue to ground her 'genius' within Britishness, despite her currently residing (and hosting her exhibition) in Miami. Clips from the COI film are also embedded into this documentary, drawing explicit links between the two, and demonstrating the influence the post-war films of the COI have had on contemporary visions of British fashion.

The woman in this chapter continues to be 'mobile', moving from the domestic space into the city and beyond. Moving on from the wartime mobility presented in Chapter 3, the films analysed in this chapter present a mobility based on consumption; changes of identity facilitated through the advent of 'fast fashion', and a physical, geographical mobility, with fashion models jetting away to a variety of exotic destinations. The age of the national female is also exposed as a mobile concept, shifting from the housewife of the forties to the newly generated category of the teenager. However, despite these increasing shifts and

[100] *Beyond Biba: A Portrait of Barbara Hulanicki*, dir. by Louis Price (BFI and November Films, 2009).

movements in national, female identity, the 'mobile' woman continues to be addressed and represented through a framework of femininity, based on appearance and beauty, often from the perspective of male voice over. In these state-funded narratives, female subjects, though seemingly changed, continue to be dressed in national uniform, with the miniskirt presented as a physically embodied official construction of femininity as a teenage occupation.

There is hence a contradiction at the centre of this chapter, between an image of female liberation, and the framing of this image as one of national creation, and state ideology. Arguably, by focusing on teenagers, the state are attempting to control and regulate female identity from an even younger age, recognising in youth the most threatening shifts to notions of femininity, re-stabilised in state narratives after the Second World War. Just as state promoted street style is analysed as a way of containing anti-consumer politics, these films attempt to contain and control shifting female behaviours, rewriting them and claiming them as a national narrative. Whilst young woman are shown to be enjoying an increasing sense of consumer power, there is an underlying guidance to these images, with the hand of the state telling teenage girls to rebel on their terms. Whilst state-sponsored narratives of consumption have become about what women want, as oppose to what they need, they are tales of what the state wants them to want, a celebration of female choice predicated on masculine desire.

The notion of the 'designed woman' embodied in these films reflects the condition whereby women are ideologically 'designed' by the state, in the same

way as the inanimate articles of buildings, cities, and items of clothing. There are strong resonances in the representation of post-war British women based on the collaborative relationships between British design, British architecture, and of course, British fashion. Just as state films of the sixties move away from conservative visions of women, the films are simultaneously moving away from conservative visions of architecture. In this set of films, both women and architecture embrace notions of equality, and both are transformed. Defined by their relation to London, the teenagers of these films represent a continued ideology of femininity, consistent with the wartime films of British Pathé. Whether tied to the home, or to the city (both of which are tied to the nation), women are associated with the concept of place. Restricted from acting as nomadic, independent agents, both generations of women offer a sense of stability to fit traditional notions of gender, in their physical connection to a solid, grounded location.

Products of the 'Swinging London' media zeitgeist, these films also contribute to the 'self-mythologizing tendency of the period', discussed by Sue Harper, a 'fantasy of national vitality' and social transformation, in which 'cultural forms [such as fashion and film] played a crucial role in establishing new agendas and possible realms of consciousness'.[101] Women are presented here as increasingly youthful, cosmopolitan subjects, liberated through the fashion revolution of the miniskirt, and the affordable fashions of Biba. However, the post-war films of the COI encourage a certain, set standard of government endorsed female identities, which both represents and adheres to a system of national production and consumption. Just as London is a distillation

[101] Harper, *Women in British Cinema*, p. 101.

of Great Britain, the female figure of these films distills the multiple anxieties and projection of moving into a new era.

5

‘Royal London’ and the Fantasy of Bridal Transformation: Film, Television, and DVD Coverage of Royal Weddings[1]

Belen Vidal describes the ‘monarchy film’ as a sub-genre of heritage films based on real historical figures or events. [2] In many ways it fits well into the definition of heritage film. The monarchy is one of the defining markers of British history, tradition, and heritage. As an institution, it is so present throughout tales of Britain’s history, that it represents a familiar iconography of English tradition that is reassuring in its predictability. The royal residences fit into the commodification of aristocratic buildings and national heritage sights discussed within the heritage debate, with Buckingham Palace State Rooms, Kensington Palace, and Sandringham (to name a few) opening their doors to historical tourism. Members of the royal family advertise, and add value to these tourist sights purely by inhabiting them, with tales of their lives lived behind cordoned off doors forming a significant part of the attraction. In the nostalgic reconstruction of aristocratic life in stately homes, the royal family uphold this lifestyle as part of a continuing tradition that members of the general public can have an illusion of access to. In many ways, the Windsor’s represent the very notion of ‘heritage’ as it is commodified and sold through film, as a consistent, nostalgic, conservative, institutional symbol of British history that occupies a grand, and (often) pastoral landscape. If historical tourism is a means to escape, a

[1] This is the edited, extended version of a published book chapter. Jo Stephenson, ‘The Regal Catwalk - Royal Weddings and the Media Promotion of British Fashion’, in *The British Monarchy on Screen,* ed. by Mandy Merck (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2016), pp. 243-263.

[2] Vidal, p. 18.

divergent device in moments of political turmoil, this royal family presents the essence of a stable British identity, a bedrock of national heritage. Through all the conflict, and all the changes the nation has undergone over the last century, they have survived. The Queen in particular, represents over sixty years of national history. As figureheads of state, the British royal family is also intrinsically tied up in dialogues of national wealth and the British economy, with the image of the Queen's head used as a legitimating symbol of the national currency.

The relationship between monarchy and fairy tale also accentuates the idealisation of history and the practice of myth making in royal narratives. As a key fantasy image of heritage narratives, stories of British royalty necessarily balance a narrative line between authenticity and reinterpretation, fact and fiction, construction and preservation. Whilst period costume dramas traditionally re-enact, or dramatise royal events, the media texts explored here are classed as non-fiction, formatted as documentary news footage to be shown on cinema screens, and later, on televisions. Yet, when analysed as a form of heritage media, the work these texts are doing is surprisingly similar to the costume film. As films and television broadcasts telling stories about the British royal family, both present forms of national heritage to be sold at home and abroad. The filmic texts studied in this chapter frequently demonstrate an uncritical engagement and idealisation of the royal family, which supports the notion of heritage as a form of historical fantasy designed to support a dominant state agenda.

In their relationship with dress, the royal family also balances a narrative line between continuity and progress. Ted Polhemus provides a framework for analysing this duality in his discussion on the definitions of 'fashion' and 'anti-fashion'. According to Polhemus, 'anti-fashion adornment is a model of time as continuity (the maintenance of the status quo) and fashion is a model of time and change'.[3] They are each therefore 'based upon alternative concepts and models of time'.[4] For Polhemus, the concept of 'anti-fashion' is epitomised by Queen Elizabeth II's Coronation gown, a garment 'designed to function as a symbol of continuity, the continuity of the monarchy and the British Empire'.[5] Like the fantasy of fairy tale fiction, it represents a 'message of timelessness' to reassure British viewers that their nation will remain firm and 'unchanging' through a period of transition in royal leadership. This continuity is not literal. As Polhemus acknowledges, 'Just as the British monarchy has changed over several centuries, so have the garments and regalia worn at coronations'.[6] However, as he argues, there is an impression, an atmosphere conveyed in images of the Queen's appearance on this day that evoke a sense that 'she could almost be wearing the clothes of her namesake'.[7] Rather than being designed as a fashionable statement, the Queen's Coronation gown was, according to Polhemus, designed as a symbolic form of adornment, intended to communicate values of national unity and the sovereignty of the Commonwealth, a symbolic celebration of the British crown and its continued lineage.

---

[3] Ted Polhemus, *Fashion & Anti-Fashion: Exploring Adornment and Dress from an Anthropological Perspective* (Open Source, 2011) [first published as the introductory text of Ted Polhemus & Lynn Procter, *Fashion & Anti-fashion: An Anthropology of Clothing and Adornment* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1978)], p. 32.
[4] Ibid., p. 31.
[5] Ibid., p. 30.
[6] Ibid., p. 35.
[7] Ibid., p. 35.

In contrast, Polhemus defines fashion as a system of stylistic and social mobility, which, far from symbolising 'rigid social environments', represents an 'ideology of change and progress' that encourages a sense of aspiration and transformation towards social mobility.[8] Despite fashion's reputation as a cyclical system, Polhemus argues that each new fashion season presents the impression of defining a 'fresh "New Look"'.[9] If anti-fashion represents a celebration of historical lineage and national heritage, fashion, as described by Polhemus, defines a cultural turn to the future. According to this distinction, Polhemus writes, 'The Royal Family, at least in public, wear anti-fashions'.[10] This description works alongside an analysis of the royal family as exploited symbols of heritage in national, commercial discourse. However, as demonstrated in this chapter, the media constructed relationship between the royal family and their clothes is not this simple. Whilst royal ceremonial costumes do promote a sense of continuity and reliability adorned in the national interest, there is also a sense, particularly in discourse surrounding contemporary figures such as Kate Middleton, that viewers are encouraged to transform their identity through royal image. There is an aspirational quality to this narrative, akin to Polhemus's definition of 'fashion' that promotes a message of social and stylistic mobility. Written in 1978, Polhemus's analysis was conceived before Princess Diana or Kate Middleton entered the royal stage. Labelled as 'commoners' by the press, both of these figures represents a literal sense of social mobility, through marriage, represented in their clothes. This chapter will trace a meeting between fashion and anti-fashion, continuity and transformation,

[8] Ibid., p. 34.
[9] Ibid., p. 34.
[10] Ibid., p. 41.

history and future in an image of royal dress, particularly tied to the transformative occasion of a royal wedding.

In her discussion of *The Queen* as a monarchy film packaged for global consumption, Belen Vidal writes, 'The very closeness in time and experience between narrative content and production context invites us to consider the shifting boundary between renderings of history and static representations of heritage'.[11] As a dramatisation of Queen Elizabeth II's response to Diana's death, *The Queen* is a heritage film that deals with 'heritage' events that happened only a few years before its release.[12] The heritage in this instance is perhaps rendered not by its historical distance, but by its connection to monarchy, a heritage institution. When considering live televised coverage of the 2011 royal wedding, this closeness in time, identified by Vidal, becomes even closer. In this instance, history is being made and heritage narratives are being written, in front of our very eyes; we are privileged enough to see it happen.

Watched through the lens of a national media broadcaster, the events that unfold in live televised coverage have been planned in advance. The footage has been designed, storyboarded and scripted as a heritage-making event. The action may be filmed 'live', but it is staged and rehearsed, filmed not from a standpoint of hindsight, but with the organisational benefit of foresight. Unlike when we watch *The Queen*, we are not reflecting on what has happened, but absorbing what is happening. In both however, it can be argued that we are consuming a tale, albeit tales distinctively classified as fiction and non-fiction.

---

[11] Vidal, p. 36.
[12] *The Queen*, dir. By Stephen Frears (Pathé Pictures International and Granada Film Productions, 2006).

Peter Ghosh discusses the implications implicit in live coverage of royal events, in his analysis of media coverage surrounding Diana's death. Questioning whether the crowds of mourners shown outside Buckingham Palace represented a whole nation of grief, Ghosh argues 'in one form or another, all the public's mourning of Diana was vicarious and *mediated* – even those who went down to London did so only as a result of messages conveyed to them by newspaper, TV and radio'.[13] According to Ghosh, the public's reactions to the event were influenced by the influx of media broadcasts of her life, as well as previous news broadcasts of high profile deaths, 'the ritual of a previously formed media community'.[14] In this instance, mourners' responses were recorded by the media to mediate a further set of reactions, in an endless cycle of mediated activity. This is the power of live television. Just like the royal wedding of 2011, this was a pre-planned event, despite the difference in circumstances. Ghosh writes, it 'was announced in the following week's *Radio Times* by John Morrison, Editor, TV news programmes: "we had worked to a fictional scenario involving the death of a leading royal in a car crash in a foreign country recently. It proved amazingly prescient"'.[15] Evaluating this information, Ghosh concludes that the pre-arranged nature of the coverage was 'obvious given its machine-like precision and uniformity'.[16] This is also a significant observation when applied to the live coverage analysed in this chapter of a royal wedding.

---

[13] Peter Ghosh, 'Mediate and Immediate Mourning' [first published in 1997], in *After Diana: Irreverent Elegies* ed. by Mandy Merck (London: Verso, 1998), pp. 41-47, (p. 41). Emphasis as in original.
[14] Ibid., p. 44.
[15] Ibid., p. 42.
[16] Ibid., p. 42.

Ghosh describes news broadcasts showing the aftermath to Diana's death as a 'fantasy soap opera', with a 'near-perfect fulfillment of the formula […]: degrees of wealth, leisure, and physical preening […], a "plot" of essential simplicity and (in its settings) predictability; and then an added garnish of moral commitment with a much broader slug of emotional upset'.[17] In a similar fashion, Francoise Gaillard compares coverage of the event to a 'novel by a second-rate writer who could only imagine a future of dull domesticity for the amorous relationship between Di and Dodi, and came up with a cop-out ending: the car carrying the two turtle doves crashes in a senseless accident'. [18] News broadcasting and live coverage of this royal event are here dissected and evaluated through a discourse of dramatic fiction. According to Gaillard, the intrinsic relationship between the royal family and their fairy tale counterparts means that they are 'doomed to supply us with dreams or tragedy: fairytale wedding in a golden coach at Westminster Abbey or death in a black Mercedes wrecked in a Paris underpass'.[19] For Gaillard, watching news broadcasting of this event is akin to 'witnessing the birth of a myth'. [20] As a character existing as a publically vaunted image, Diana as presented in the media continues to exist on a range of royal souvenirs designed for consumption. As Gaillard writes, Lady Di's image has had to be registered as a trademark. Diana Princess Logo: now *there's* a title for a postmodern fairy tale!'.[21] Live television coverage and news broadcasts of royal events cannot here be untangled from fantasy narratives and

---

[17] Ibid., p. 44.

[18] Francoise Gaillard, 'Diana, Postmodern Madonna', *After Diana: Irreverent Elegies* ed. by Mandy Merck (London: Verso, 1998), pp. 159-167, p. 160.

[19] Ibid., p. 161.

[20] Ibid., p. 160.

[21] Ibid., p. 164. Emphasis as in original.

dramatic fictions, owing to the specific, idealised nature of institutional media narratives surrounding the royal family.

The re-enactment of the live royal event occurs through its transformation into edited, DVD highlights. While live coverage creates a heritage narrative before our eyes, the DVDs package this narrative into a consumable, ownable, miniaturised version. Watching the DVD, we are no longer participants as we are when we join in the live feed. We are, from this distant standpoint, only bystanders. The DVD provides a referent to the live coverage, almost a footnote for us to remember it by, but is in no way representative of the whole event.

One can argue that live coverage is no longer as fleeting as it once was. In the case of the 2011 wedding, it can be viewed in full at the BFI. Viewers also had the option to record footage on the day. However, it is difficult to access full coverage of the day by any other means. The DVDs available to buy are a third of the length of the live broadcasts. When analysed, the moments selected for edited highlights present evidence for the importance placed on members of the royal family as defining markers of national heritage. On the BBC DVD available for public purchase, it is only the discussion of Kate's dress that makes the cut. Hours of conversation on the guest's outfit choices, used as filler on the day, are not included. Whilst Kate's fashion choice is deemed paramount to the heritage narrative that will last from the day, the guest's choices were seemingly only of fleeting value, inconsequential to any long term heritage agenda. This choice presents a significant comment on the markers institutions value and define as heritage.

As demonstrated in Chapters 3 and 4, the non-fiction British fashion film frequently uses the fairy tale figures of kings and queens to demarcate moments of time in British history. This chapter focuses on this generic trope by tracing a sequential history of fashion moments in British royal wedding coverage on screen, from the beginning of the twentieth-century to the present day. In doing so, I explore the chronological development of one subgenre of non-fiction British fashion film. I question the categorisation of live commentary, DVD edits, and the earlier newsreels as non-fiction, by acknowledging the storytelling devices that work as narratives for the royal family, the British fashion industry, and a London-centric Britain. As part of the narrative already followed in this thesis, I will focus particularly on coverage by British Pathé in my analysis of earlier footage, to demonstrate the relationship between these films, and those discussed in Chapter 3.

While Pathé's post-war fashion films look to the future (Chapter 3), and the COI's material often looks to fashion's past (Chapter 4), this chapter explores a blending of the two, in the relationship between viewer memory and expectation; the influence visions of the past have on our visions of the future. I also consider here the increasing use of anticipation in the build up of royal fashion moments, with the developing features of live broadcasting. Rather than films made about events spanning over a long period such as World War Two (Chapter 3) or the 'Swinging Sixties' (Chapter 4), this chapter is about the capturing on film of special, one-off events that are explicitly tied to a particular moment in London. The texts here afford a construction of privileged access, in

images that allow audiences to feel they are sharing in the experience of royal occasion.

I focus on royal weddings in particular as transformation moments of 'national celebration' that present a heightened fascination with royal dress.[22] As Nigel Arch, former Director of Kensington Palace, and Joanna Marschner, curator for Historic Royal Palaces argue 'At every wedding the visual focus is always the dress, and a royal wedding is no different'.[23] As a pinnacle moment for royal fashion media to capture, the wedding also plays a significant role in traditional transformation narratives, often forming 'the climax of the fairy-tale'.[24] The royal wedding is a fantasy transformation narrative that has been played out in London for centuries. This chapter will explore five forms of transformation that take place in the development of this narrative over time. The first is the individual romantic transformation of single girl into bride and, later, wife. If marrying into the royal family from outside, the single girl undergoes a second transformation into princess. In part, the wearing of a wedding dress enables both conversions. Entwined in royalty and romance, these transformations present the culmination of a 'real life' fairy tale, where the archetypal characters of kings and queens, princes and princesses really exist.

The royal wedding narrative also tells a story of transformed location. The material covered in this chapter offers both historical and contemporary viewers the sense of 'being there', transporting viewers back to the day of the

[22] Nigel Arch and Joanna Marschner, *Royal Wedding Dresses* (London: Historical Royal Palaces, 2011), p. 4.
[23] Ibid.
[24] Ibid., p. 32.

event. Geographically, this material allows immersion in another place (the capital city) for non-London audiences. As a caricature of British identity, London has a strong presence throughout the wedding footage covered in this chapter. The city is reproduced as a collection of traditional and tourist images including Buckingham Palace, the Changing of the Guard, carriage processions on the Mall, and weddings, funerals and coronations in St. Paul's Cathedral and Westminster Abbey. This cityscape situates the royal family in the capital city with its leading fashion houses, national fashion weeks, and flagship retail stores.

According to Mark Cousins, these images present a fourth transformation, of London, transfigured by the nature of the event. Cousins refers to this as 'Royal London':

> Royal London, a space of state occasions governed to the minutest details by pre-ordered codes of protocol of the British establishment […] Only on prescribed royal and state occasions does Royal London become visible, and it does so not as an architecture but as a processional route which links church (Westminster Abbey) and state (Parliament) with the monarch (Buckingham Palace).[25]

According to Cousins, London's identity as a royal city is heightened on days of royal celebration. Following the depiction of London as a facilitating place for fashion transformation in Chapter 4, this chapter charts the projection of 'Royal London' as a facilitating place for royal transformation. Through the chronological development of royal wedding coverage, 'Royal London' also transforms alongside the image of the royal family and their fashions, to become more inclusive, and accessible. This introduces the fifth transformation to be

[25] Mark Cousins, 'From Royal London to Celebrity Space', in *After Diana: Irreverant Edigies,* ed. by Mandy Merck (London: Verso, 1998), pp. 77-86.

considered in this chapter, the shift in royal weddings from private, to public ceremonies. This progression presents an inversion of the fashion narratives I have looked at so far. In Chapters 3 and 4, an image of real life is transformed into fairy tale image. In this chapter, a fairy tale image is brought into an image of real life.

Royalty has long had an association with British trade and export. In his book chronicling the Queen's role in state politics, journalist Andrew Marr speaks about the Queen's responsibility to make 'diplomatic and trade-boosting visits', around the world.[26] He explains, 'In the Foreign Office they draw up their wish list for state visits […], arguing about which trading partner has priority over which'.[27] In this sense, the monarchy has a similar remit to that of the COI discussed in Chapter 4, to promote British trade and industry to overseas markets. It is not only the Queen who holds this responsibility, but all high profile members of the royal family. Designer Caroline Charles claims 'a lot of international press and buyers came to London in the Eighties because of [Princess Diana]'.[28] Souvenirs made to celebrate Diana's wedding to Prince Charles in 1981 in a 'fever of patriotism' were described as 'a welcome boost to the potteries [industry], hard hit by the recession […] [with] many jobs […] temporarily saved by the sudden demand'.[29] Certain female members of the royal family are also associated with fashion. Princess Diana embraced her role as a national fashion ambassador. According to a Tailors and Garment Workers

[26] Andrew Marr, *The Diamond Queen: Elizabeth II and Her People* (London: Macmillan, 2011), p. 15.
[27] Ibid.
[28] Caroline Charles in Beatrice Behlen and Joanna Marschner, *Diana: Fashion & Style* (Hampshire: Jarold Publishing in Association with Historic Royal Palaces, 2007), p. 66.
[29] Nicholas Courtney, *Diana Princess of Wales* (London: Park Lane Press, 1982), p. 35.

Union declaration in 1982, the Princess of Wales was 'a gift from the gods' to their 'dying' industry. An official from the Union noted, '"every factory I walk around is producing Princess Di clothes"'.[30] Princess Diana's effect on fashion promotion is increasingly based on a media narrative that women should want to look like her so that they too can find their handsome prince, and live happily ever after.

Royalty, Fashion, and Politics

As symbolic figures suspended between continuity and progress, contemporary female royals have a relationship with both fashion and anti-fashion. There are strong elements of royal identity that lend themselves well to the promotion of fashion. The royal family is visible in media throughout the world, and fashion is easy to promote in photographic and filmic images. At the same time, royal dress is often used as a way of communicating political statements, such as when national flowers or symbols are embroidered onto outfits worn for foreign visits. According to Polhemus's distinction, the concept of 'fashion' is at odds with the notion of political communication. However, there is a contemporary media discourse, particularly surrounding Princess Diana and Kate Middleton, that reflects a political, royal engagement with the fashion system. Princess Diana began a tour of Wales with her husband dressed in a 'poppy-red jacket worn with a green pleated skirt and red-brimmed straw hat, the national colours of Wales'.[31] Similarly, to begin the royal tour of Canada with her newlywed husband, the

[30] Behlen and Marschner, p. 66.
[31] Courtney, p. 57.

Duchess of Cambridge wore Canadian fashion labels Smythe and Erdem.[32] In discussion of the Duchess' Canadian wardrobe, *Marie Claire* describes her as 'the ultimate fashion diplomat whose impeccable style choices have been known to build bridges between nations'.[33] This trend for promoting national unity through royal dress is not new. The design for Queen Elizabeth II's Coronation gown included 'flower motifs […] augmented with the emblems of all her [Commonwealth] Dominions'.[34] Susanna Brown discusses the royal use of photography 'as an essential public relations device' that has been drawn on since the reign of Queen Victoria.[35] Visual images work and communicate across languages and cultures, presenting clear messages very quickly. This symbol of unity was communicated around the world in photographs and moving image. However, whilst descriptions of the Queen's Coronation gown focus on its symbolism, media stories of Kate Middleton's Canadian visit take as much care to detail the fashion houses behind her outfits, as they do to detail their aesthetic qualities. Kate's clothes are promoted as articles of the fashion system, the products of a specific fashion house. Unlike the symbolic Coronation gown designed exclusively for the Queen to wear on a day of ceremonial grandeur, many of Kate Middleton's outfits are attainable through consumption. Fashion here plays a role in encouraging public identification with contemporary royal figures through an increasing sense of accessibility to royal fashions, rather than

---

[32] Lauren Larose, 'Kate Sporting Canadian Designers to Kick Off Royal Tour', (2011), *The Globe and Mail* <http://www.theglobeandmail.com/life/kate-sporting-canadian-designers-to-kick-off-royal-tour/article585116/> [accessed 24.11.2014].
[33] Caroline Leaper, 'The Duchess Directory: The Ultimate Guide To Kate Middleton's Favourite Fashion Brands', (2014), *Marie Claire* <http://www.marieclaire.co.uk/blogs/546950/kate-middleton-fashion-brands-the-duchess-of-cambridge-s-top.html> [accessed 24.11.2014].
[34] Colin McDowell, *A Hundred Years of Royal Style* (London: Muller, Blond & White, 1985), p. 68.
[35] Susanna Brown, p. 25.

anti-fashions, embodied by the contemporary focus in media coverage on the Duchess of Cambridge's high street clothes.

According to *Stylist* magazine, in 2011 Kate Middleton was 'reportedly worth £1 billion to the British economy'.[36] The huge international interest in her wedding that year to Prince William was greeted as a major opportunity to boost British trade by promoting British fashion both at home and abroad. On the 9th March 2012 on ITV's morning television show *Daybreak*, British fashion expert Caryn Franklin said of Middleton, by then given the official title the Duchess of Cambridge, 'she certainly does generate an enormous amount of money for the fashion industry. Anything she wears sells out instantly, and certainly some of her favourite high street designers have posted record profits.'[37] Soon after this *Stylist* magazine reported that the website of the British fashion chain Reiss had crashed for two hours after Middleton was shown wearing their '£175 taupe Shola dress to meet the Obamas'.[38]

The royal family is a central feature of Britain's projected identity on a world stage and a unique selling point of national heritage exploited to promote its exports. Despite their reputation for 'anti-fashion', the Windsor's responsibility towards national export has granted them a political affiliation to the fashion industry that can be seen in a number of British Fashion Council (BFC) initiatives. Following the death of Princess Diana in 1997, the BFC set up

---

[36] 'Why We All Want to Believe in Kate', in *Stylist,* (18 April 2012), pp. 42-46 (p. 45). Catherine Middleton, now formally titled the Duchess of Cambridge, is often referred to in celebrity style by her familiar name 'Kate' in magazines and on television. Both the BBC and ITV live television coverage of the 2011 royal wedding called her 'Kate', presenting her as a woman from an ordinary middle class background that viewers could relate to.
[37] *Daybreak*, (ITV 1, 09.03.2012).
[38] 'Why We All Want to Believe in Kate', p. 46.

the Princess of Wales Charitable Trust in 1998 'in recognition of her loyal support of British fashion designers', to provide British fashion graduates with scholarships to further their fashion education.[39] In the lead up to the Queen's Diamond Jubilee in 2012, London's central shopping thoroughfare 'launched a Great British Fashion Flag Showcase' in which 147 Union Jack flags, 'including 10 dedicated fashion flags', were hung above the major retail stores in Bond Street, Regent Street, and Piccadilly, stretching for one and a half miles.[40] These 'dedicated fashion flags' were created by high profile British designers including the House of Alexander McQueen (whose creative director Sarah Burton became 'Designer of the Year' at the British Fashion Awards 2011 for her work on Middleton's wedding dress), and Stella McCartney (designer of the Team GB kit for the London 2012 Olympic Games, and winner of the BFC 'Designer of the Year' award 2012).[41] British Fashion Council chair Harold Tillman and John Penrose MP, Minister for Tourism and Heritage, were both in attendance at this Jubilee celebration launch, illustrating its significance for British commerce, as well as a national celebration with political undertones.[42] Fashion exhibitions at Kensington Palace, including the 2013 'Fashion Rules' exhibition, also highlight the historical connection of British fashion to the history and tradition of the royal palaces.[43] On the 16 March 2012 a reception for the British clothing industry was held at Buckingham Palace, hosted by the Queen and the Duke of

---

[39] British Fashion Council, 'BFC Princess of Wales Charitable Trust', (16.02.2009), British Fashion Council. <http://www.britishfashioncouncil.co.uk/content.aspx?CategoryID=1615&ArticleID=1383>. [accessed 15.08.2013].
[40] British Fashion Council, 'Great British Fashion Flags', (01.05.2012), <http://www.britishfashioncouncil.co.uk/news_detail.aspx?id=416> [accessed: 15.08.2012].
[41] Ibid.
[42] Ibid.
[43] 'Fashion Rules Exhibition - Royal Glamour at Kensington Palace', Historic Royal Palaces <www.hrp.org.uk/KensingtonPalace/stories/palacehighlights/FashionRules/default.aspx > [accessed 20.11.2013].

Edinburgh.[44] All of these examples illustrate how the British royal family is, despite their traditional appearance, connected to the business of British fashion, through the work of the British Fashion Council, and alongside both the city politics of London and the national politics of Great Britain.

Royal Film Stars

As famous figures presented to the world through glamorous portraiture, members of the British royal family have often been associated with Hollywood film stars. Photographer Cecil Beaton took many of the most iconic royal photographs of the twentieth-century, including the official images of the Queen's Coronation in 1953. These portraits are among the 'most widely-published portraits of the twentieth- century' and were significant in 'the shaping of the monarchy's public image from the 1930s to the 1960s'.[45] Owing to the lavish backdrops and elaborate dresses in his portraits, Beaton's work is often described as theatrical. Brown describes him as 'a set designer, a dream maker and an artist',[46] descriptions appropriate to Beaton's additional film portraits, photographing world famous screen actresses including Katharine Hepburn and Marlene Dietrich.[47] Significantly, Beaton also worked for the Ministry of Information as a war photographer between 1940 and 1944.[48]

[44] Julia Neel, 'British Clothing Industry Reception', (17. 03. 2010), *Vogue* www.vogue.co.uk/spy/celebrity-photos/2010/03/17/clothing-industry-reception-at-buckingham-palace [accessed: 15.08.2012].
[45] Susanna Brown, p. 9.
[46] Ibid., p. 61.
[47] Ibid., p. 20.
[48] Ibid., p. 32.

The royal family's positioning alongside famous actresses of the silver screen is in part formed by their photographic appearances. The level of international fame attributed to certain members of the royal family has placed them alongside icons of fashion and beauty from the world of film. Kensington Palace curators Behlen and Marschner compare Princess Diana to female icons of Hollywood cinema.

> Marilyn Monroe, Grace Kelly and Audrey Hepburn had been equally famous as the Princess. While Diana could give a good impression of walking like Monroe in *Some Like it Hot* for private consumption, she more publically embraced the style of Grace Kelly, whom she had first met in 1981.[49]

Throughout the twentieth and twenty-first centuries the royal family have had an increasing presence on screen, in the cinema and later on television. Their presence across fictional features, factual documentaries, and newsreels presents a form of intertextuality that, beyond literary texts quoting literary texts, demonstrates the cross generic referencing of fiction and non-fiction texts.

Fashioning Royal News

Consistently, since the earliest newsreels at the beginning of the twentieth-century, royal weddings have been shared with screen audiences both at home and abroad. In the early nineteen-hundreds, romantic images in royal wedding coverage were discreet. One of the earliest examples of British royal wedding coverage on screen is the wedding of Princess Mary and Henry Charles George, Viscount Lascelles, in 1922. The DVD *British Royal Weddings of the 20th*

[49] Behlen and Marschner, p. 78.

Century compiles a selection of short British Pathé newsreels covering different aspects of the wedding and its preparations.[50] A newsreel titled 'Princess Mary to Marry an English Nobleman' was released in 1921 to celebrate their engagement. The newsreel frames Viscount Lascelles in an iris shot as a twenties pin up, a suggestion of fill lighting giving him a dreamy quality and connecting him with film stars of the time.[51] The glamorous portrait of Princess Mary's prospective groom offers an early example of the treatment of British royalty as cinematic celebrities.

Figure 18: Iris Shot, *Princess Mary to Marry an English Nobleman* (British Pathé, 1921).

However, visual access to royal figures was still limited. In the subsequent newsreel of the ceremony in 1922, a great effort has been made to hide the wedding dress from the public.[52] An annex is set up in front of the entrance to the Abbey for this purpose, so that the bride arrives unseen. As the carriage pulls up

[50] *British Royal Weddings of the 20th Century* (British Pathé; Cherry Red Films and Strike Force Entertainment, 2011).
[51] *Princess Mary to Marry an English Nobleman* (British Pathé, 1921).
[52] *Wedding of HRH Princess Mary and Viscount Lascelles, D.S.O at Westminster Abbey* (British Pathé, 1922).

to the entrance we have only a brief glimpse of the bride's veil through the carriage window before she disappears from sight. When the couple leave the Abbey after the ceremony they again enter the carriage through the annex, meaning that visual access to the pair is limited to images of their heads through the carriage window, taken at a distance and difficult to make out. At the end of the newsreel there is a shot of the couple standing on the balcony of Buckingham Palace. However, it remains at a distance, and shows them only from the waist up. There is no full-length image of the bride in her dress. This distancing of the bride and her apparel from spectators is enhanced by the cinematography, often using aerial shots of the carriage to preserve the couple's privacy. The processional route between Westminster Abbey and Buckingham Palace is here presented as inaccessible to spectators. Rather than allowing viewers to travel alongside the couple, the cinematography of this film forces us to watch from afar. At this point, 'Royal London' acts as a specific route exclusively for royalty: a dividing, rather than inclusive space. However, this film allows an access of visibility that would not have been otherwise possible for many viewers. Although the footage does not provide a significantly enhanced view from that witnessed by crowds present at the event, it offers a similar view for those who could not attend. The use of images that are almost, but not quite, close enough to give a detailed view, emphasises the discretion of early royal wedding coverage.

In another example from the same year, the wedding between Lord Luis Mountbatten and Miss Edwina Ashley, the idea of celebrity is further highlighted

by the intertitle announcement that this is to be 'The Wedding of the Season'.[53] This phrase brings with it a strong sense of high society, but also (perhaps only in retrospect) of the fashion season. The twenties dress worn here with the drop-down waist, accessorised with two long strings of pearls and worn with a short bobbed hairstyle, are in line with fashions of the time, depicting the royal family as followers of popular styles and trends, participants whose choices of dress are in part influenced by the changing styles of the fashion system in the same way as that of their subjects. Pathé newsreel coverage of this wedding shows full length shots of the bride and groom, demonstrating an increased access to royal imagery even from the previous wedding the same year, perhaps as they were less high profile royal figures.

Audience identification with royal images draws on a perceived public desire to share in the experience of the royal event. In the Pathé newsreel of the 1934 marriage of Prince George, Duke of Kent, and Princess Marina of Greece, a shot of the crowd shows a spectator brandishing a contraption covered in mirrors to enable him to see what is going on from varying angles.[54]

[53] *Lord Louis Mountbatten weds Miss Edwina Ashley* (British Pathé, 1922).
[54] *The Royal Wedding* [Prince George, Duke of Kent weds Princess Marina of Greece] (British Pathé, 1934).

Figure 19: Contraption Covered in Mirrors, *The Royal Wedding* (British Pathé, 1934).

This is followed later in the film by shots of others in the crowd holding up mirrors to enhance their view. Both a mirror image and a photograph present an inverted image of the scene they reflect, a representation of the real action. However, both seek to record their own image (either fleeting or permanent), to have a sense of ownership over the historical moment. Those watching in the cinema may not be experiencing the event live like the crowds on screen, and the images they see may be reversed in reflection. However, filmic techniques such as close-ups and continuity editing allow viewers to feel they are in the crowd, following a seamless sequence of events. Moving images and the tools of filmmaking give audiences the illusion of live coverage and hence a sense of involvement, in a moment of national celebration that is fixed in film.

As part of its coverage of the 1935 wedding of Prince Henry, Duke of Gloucester to Lady Alice Scott, a Pathé newsreel offers an early example of

media constructed anticipation about a royal wedding dress, increasing the illusion of live commentary.[55] The film employs a present tense address, speaking of history in the style later adopted for a live broadcast. The commentator states: 'and now, everyone is waiting for the bride. Here she is!' At this point the bride looks at the camera, giving a quick smile and a nod before getting into the car, suggesting the acknowledgement of her public persona and social status. The inclusion of this shot in the edited film, together with the commentary, is an early example of the media's attempt to engage audiences in the day's event.

Figure 20: A Smile and a Nod, *The Royal Wedding* (British Pathé, 1935).

One abiding trope evident at this time is the commentator's remark on the scale of the international audience. He declares:

[55] *The Royal Wedding* [Prince Henry, Duke of Gloucester weds Lady Alice Scott] (British Pathé, 1935).

> All London, in fact, all the world, rejoices in the happiness of our royal family […] This crowd is only a minute part of the great public all over the Empire who will today be wishing joy to the bride and bridegroom.[56]

This reference to the Empire, Commonwealth, and beyond sets London in a global context, the stage for a national story watched by an international audience. Significantly cashing in on this export opportunity is a Pathé fashion film made to supplement coverage of the day.[57] It shows a mannequin modelling outfits that Lady Alice Scott has packed for her honeymoon, describing the clothes and naming the designer, British royal couturier Norman Hartnell. Again, present tense commentary is used to convince the audience that they are experiencing a royal fashion show first hand, an event that brings consumers and British fashion commodities closer together. Lady Alice Scott's absence from this film establishes a detachment between royal figures and fashion modelling. The presentation of haute couture designs by a royal designer also distances the viewer from the clothes on screen. However, the film continues to present an illusion of accessibility through its narration: 'Here are some of the lovely clothes from Lady Alice Scott's Trousseau'. The 'trousseau' is an intimate selection of the bride's personal items to be taken on honeymoon, an ordinarily private collection that the audience is granted access to. Through an implied shared secret of the trousseau's contents, the audience is encouraged to identify with the royal bride. Female audience members can also possibly relate this story to their own trousseau, connecting the images on screen with memories or fantasies of their own weddings and honeymoons. Film here facilitates an

---

[56] Ibid.
[57] Fashion Film Supplement to the Wedding of Prince Henry, Duke of Gloucester and Lady Alice Scott (British Pathé, 1935).

opportunity for viewers to access traditionally inaccessible information about royal dress.

Post-War Royal Weddings

The post-war period in Britain was a strong moment for royal image, when Britain found itself on a world media platform with the British royal family at the centre. It saw Princess Elizabeth II's wedding to Philip Mountbatten in 1947, the birth of Prince Charles in 1948, and the Queen's Coronation in 1953. In the aftermath of war, images of the royal family, in particular Princess Elizabeth, were positioned to inspire belief in the nation's future. Susanna Brown describes a significant photographic portrait of the princess, taken by Cecil Beaton in 1945.

> Wearing a delicate star-patterned dress, Princess Elizabeth posed against […] [an] elaborate backdrop […] [of] a winter scene painted in the style of Rex Whistler, a close friend of Beaton's since university, who was killed fighting in 1944. It has been suggested that the portrait of the Princess clad in a gossamer gown beside a frozen lake was intended to show her as the harbinger of spring, the herald of a new beginning.[58]

The photograph has a soft, dreamy quality and shows the princess in a reflective pose. It is staged against a painted backdrop of a fictional scene, blending the older tradition of painted royal portraiture with the modern turn to photography. It also highlights the representational quality of the image, as a construct of Beaton's vision, and an attempt to re-inspire a cultural imagination for fantasy and fairy tale, embodied by a post-war royal family.

[58] Susanna Brown, p. 33.

The heightened interest in Princess Elizabeth as future heir to the British throne reached new heights in 1948, with her marriage to Philip Mountbatten. Fashion historians and curators Valerie Mendes and Amy de la Haye note that her wedding

> [A]ttracted widespread media attention and led to a flurry of clothes shopping in establishment circles. Her embroidered gown, by Norman Hartnell, was not ration-free and required 100 coupons. The dress was much admired and so efficient was the Seventh Avenue copying network that a replica was ready eight weeks before the wedding, though in the interests of international harmony it was not put on sale until the day itself.[59]

The implication that 'international harmony' has the potential to be effected by a disrespectful fashion exchange signifies the potentially powerful role dress can play in global politics. This sense of the wedding dresses' political significance is heightened by its enigmatic status, with details apparently remaining classified until the last moment, protected as a state secret. The implication that women would want to purchase replicas of Princess Elizabeth's dress also suggests that there is an element of aspirational social mobility and transformation to media narratives of this event, focused around an idea of clothing. Whilst this wedding dress was specifically designed for the princess by a royal couturier rather than a fashion house, it is not completely exempt from the fantasies of the fashion system.

A collection of short newsreels was made surrounding Princess Elizabeth's wedding to Philip Mountbatten. In Pathé newsreel footage titled 'The

[59] Mendes, and De La Haye, p. 140-141.

Princess Weds' we see visual references to iconic London landmarks such as Big Ben.[60] In these images, 'Royal London' becomes less specifically about royal venues such as Buckingham Palace and Westminster Abbey, as it encompasses additional, familiar icons of the city. It is beginning to transform from an exclusive route that only royals are allowed access to, into a cross-capital location, including the public spaces that represent the city's non-royal population. These images construct the setting for commentary on the royal wedding dress: 'Inside the palace, the cameras were able to capture the exquisite workmanship of the bridal gown.' As 'Royal London' becomes more inclusive, it simultaneously transforms into a setting for tales of royal dress. This increase in accessibility is also demonstrated by the fact that Princess Elizabeth's is the first royal wedding to allow film cameras inside the Abbey. In a growing appeal for spectator engagement in the event, one film invites the spectator to attend the wedding.[61] British actor and singer Anna Neagle declares, 'you are invited to the marriage of Her Royal Highness the Princess Elizabeth Alexandra Mary, daughter of their majesties the King and Queen, with Lieutenant Philip Mountbatten RN in Westminster Abbey'.[62] This use of personal pronoun includes the viewer in the event, encouraging emotional investment through the implication that they have been specially chosen. It also creates the illusion of eliminated boundaries between cinema audiences and wedding guests, a sense of privilege through receipt of the invitation. After a slight pause, this illusion of equality is slightly retracted, 'Well, that was the invitation to a few. But millions responded'. Here, the film shows a bird's eye view image of the crowds waiting

[60] *The Princess Weds* (British Pathé, 1947).
[61] *The Princess's Wedding Day* (British Pathé, 1947).
[62] Ibid.

outside the palace. Although less exclusive than an official invitation, Neagle's introduction invites viewers to attend the occasion through film.

Figure 21: Inside the Abbey, *The Princess Weds* (British Pathé, 1947).

At the end of the newsreel, the crowd anticipates the bride's appearance on the Buckingham Palace balcony, shouting 'we want the bride!'[63] The audience is becoming increasingly present in post-war wedding coverage, their shouts acting as part of the film's narrative, influencing the story. This follows a film of the couple's engagement day *The Royal Romance*, which interviews regular visitors to a village pub in Wiltshire close to where Lieutenant Mountbatten was stationed prior to his engagement.[64] The inclusion of 'local' voices works towards greater audience identification with royal images, promoting the royal family as members of the people.

[63] Ibid.
[64] *The Royal Romance* (British Pathé, 1947).

The focus on the royal wedding dress in media coverage of the event and its preparations is depicted in another short film made by British Pathé focusing on the making of Princess Elizabeth's dress. 'Wedding Dress Silk Made in Essex' is part of a DVD released by the Royal Collection titled *Happy And Glorious: The Royal Wedding (1947) and The Coronation (1953) from Original Newsreels*.[65] It follows the progress of the princess's wedding dress from the weaving of its fabric:

> At Braintree in Essex, Peggy Lyn will prepare the silk and threads which will be used for Princess Elizabeth's wedding dress […] Greatest secrecy covers the preparations, and the final design will not be ready for public viewing until the November wedding day [...] The Princesses' gown will set a new fashion for brides. Orders for the design will crowd in from many countries.[66]

Use of the future rather than the present tense in this commentary creates excitement, building the event up in advance, and creating a sense of anticipation. Filming in a textile factory forges an association for the viewer between the royal wedding dress and British manufacturing, connecting an important national event with images of national industry. The presentation of the royal family as members of the people projected through fashion becomes stronger in this period, as the post-war continuation of rationing motivates images of national unity. Despite her choice of royal couturier Norman Hartnell, Princess Elizabeth needed to be seen saving ration coupons for her wedding dress in the same way as other British brides to create a feeling of solidarity and shared experience. According to Drusilla Beyfus, fashion journalist and former

---

[65] *Wedding Dress Silk Made in Essex* (British Pathé, 1947), on *Happy and Glorious: The Royal Wedding (1947) and the Coronation (1953) from Original Newsreels* (The Royal Collection, 2007).
[66] Ibid.

senior tutor at Central Saint Martins College of Art and Design, Elizabeth's saving was emphasised in press reports of the time, to persuade viewers that the princess was just like them.[67] The impression of accessible fashion was also enhanced in the forties when Hartnell began to design ready-to-wear collections for the benefit of women who aspired to follow royal style but could not afford the haute couture price tags. However, as journalist Andrew Marr explains, frugality had its limits:

> Already, towards the end of 1947 and despite a torrent of reforming social legislation, people were becoming weary of the shortages and red tape Labour was coming to represent. As preparations for the wedding gathered speed, it began to be clear that outside the eager platoons of the socialists, there was little enthusiasm for a puritanical, frugal event. The country wanted colour and it wanted fun. And that, after all, is the job of the monarchy.[68]

The opposition between solidarity and morale-boosting spectacle was clearly one that needed carefully balancing at this economically unstable time. This political balance is established through a story of fashion as opposed to anti-fashion, counterweighting a shared experience of rationing with the aspirational glamour of a fairy tale dress. The royal family and their relationship with fashion is presented here as a significant device for public relations campaigns, and the strategic negotiation between the royal family, the state, and the British public.

The Queen's Coronation in 1953 was another form of wedding ceremony, which saw Princess Elizabeth return to Westminster Abbey to take her vows, this time, to the state. The newsreel images reference those of royal weddings, the

---

[67] Drusilla Beyfus, 'Royal Wedding Dresses', in *The Royal Wedding Official Souvenir and Programme [the Prince of Wales to Lady Diana Spencer]* (London: The Royal Jubilee Trusts, 1981), pp. 17-19 (p. 18).
[68] Marr, p. 110.

Queen walking down the aisle accompanied by her ladies in waiting, invoking images of a bride with her bridesmaids.[69] Footage of the royal carriages on their processional route between Buckingham Palace and Westminster Abbey past large numbers of waving well-wishers are the same familiar images we have seen throughout a continuum of royal wedding footage. Supporting Cousin's definition of 'Royal London', Pathé's newsreel footage describes London as a 'royal city'.[70] Similarly, the iconic shot of the royal family waving to crowds from the balcony at Buckingham Palace further connect the coverage of the Coronation with the traditions of royal weddings.

The media coverage and photography of this event fitted in with the theme of Princess Elizabeth's post-war Beaton portrait of 1945, in a celebration of the new Queen described by journalist Andrew Marr as a 'national symbol of youth, rebirth, and hope'.[71] Susanna Brown writes,

> The country was still suffering the aftermath of the Second World War when King George VI died in 1952 at the age of 56. The Coronation of his daughter was seen as representing the beginning of a new age, a time for optimism and innovation that the press termed 'the new Elizabethan era'. Winston Churchill eloquently voiced the feelings that the Queen engendered in so many, describing her on Coronation day as a metaphorical guardian angel.[72]

Described as a mythical creature, the figure of the Queen on her day of Coronation represented a continuing, constitutional monarchy that had transcended the challenges of war, represented through a dress of symbolic adornment. However, as a celebrated symbol of the nation's future, the Queen

[69] *Elizabeth is Queen*, (British Pathé, 1953).
[70] *The Coronation of her Majesty Queen Elizabeth*, (British Pathé, 1953).
[71] Marr, p. 114.
[72] Susanna Brown, p. 36.

simultaneously, and perhaps contradictorily, personified the same qualities as fashion and design discussed in Chapters 3 and 4, as an icon of national heritage through which Britain could visualise an image of national transformation, in more prosperous times to come.

Consequently, the Coronation is often spoken about alongside the 1951 Festival of Britain (explored in Chapter 4), and the national turn to design. Breward and Wood invoke an image of the Coronation as 'a sophisticated design event, operating across the fields of photography, fashion and performance to project a new version of the Crown's role in the life of the state'.[73] The new royal era of Elizabeth II's reign is part of the official post-war narrative of a new Britain, re-visualised and rebuilt through design. The relationship between the Festival of Britain and the Coronation, held only two years apart, is demonstrated by the involvement of the same creative teams on both events.

> Many of the same figures were involved in the design of both projects. Sir Hugh Casson was Director of Architecture for the Festival and responsible for the street decorations of the Coronation; while Abram Games created memorably patriotic images for each, astutely adapting iconography to suit different contexts. For the Festival, Games celebrated Britain's imperial past in the personification of Britannia, while for the Coronation Ball he played with the thoroughly royal symbolism of the lion and the unicorn […]. Both were unambiguously decked in red, white and blue […] such key state-sponsored moments inscribed a series of design values and an attitude towards innovation that would have a profound influence on Britain's built environment and creative life for the remainder of the century.[74]

As media events showcasing Britain's post-war identity to an international audience, the Festival of Britain and the Coronation shared similar functions. The

[73] Breward and Wood, 'In the Service of the State', p. 53.
[74] Ibid., p. 43.

presentation of each celebrates stories of British design, acting as platforms for the promotion of British goods. David Eccles, the architect who designed the Abbey's interior for the Coronation ceremony 'looked to doing it in style, and in a way which brought out the strengths of British art and design'.[75] The aforementioned responsibility of the monarchy to promote British trade industries ties internationally presented royal events further into a tale of British export, aligning the family with the Festival of Britain's remit.

There are those who argue against the connecting of these two events, with the Festival of Britain often being labeled a 'socialist' event planned by a Labour government, and the Coronation a 'conservative' creation.[76] However, as Breward and Wood point out, 'in retrospect it is striking how far the language of renewal and optimism was a shared one. In 1951 and 1953 politicians and planners were united in looking to build a golden future'.[77] In this sense, the Coronation and the continuum of royal events presented to screen audiences tie in with official, state-sponsored narratives aiming to celebrate and promote British design, and, as part of this, British fashion to a global audience.

Susanna Brown describes the Queen's Coronation dress as an intersection between fashion and costume. Royal couturier and designer, Norman Hartnell was a high-profile figure in the London fashion scene. The Coronation dress embodies the meeting of royalty and haute couture that defined much of Hartnell's fashion work. However, as Brown points out, 'Like Beaton, Hartnell had [also] designed for the theatre and film and was thus skilled at creating a

[75] *The Coronation of Queen Elizabeth II* (BBC 4, 2013).
[76] Breward and Wood, 'In the Service of the State' p. 55.
[77] Ibid.

splendid tableau for the "royal crowd sequence" of the Coronation'.[78] Describing the Coronation as a play comprising of a sequence of scenes staged in 'Royal London', Brown positions the dress as an elaborate theatrical, filmic costume. Behlen and Marschner agree with this reading, arguing, 'The Queen's 1953 coronation gown was not in any sense fashionable, but rather a costume heavy with symbolism'.[79] This symbolism reflected the Commonwealth, 'with all the different symbols of the various Commonwealth countries of which she was Queen'.[80] In this sense, the Coronation gown was a Commonwealth costume, designed to help tell a story, and communicate a message to its audience. The Coronation gown as a costume representing Britain's imperial power is connected to Princess Elizabeth's wedding dress, in that both were designed by Hartnell, and made at Braintree in Essex. Newsreel coverage shows the Coronation dress being made, in the same style as *Wedding Dress Silk Made in Essex*.[81] Both dresses form part of one linear narrative, of royal performance and British Empire.

Film coverage of Princess Elizabeth's wedding and, later, her Coronation, fits in with a concurrent increase in the media's inclusion of the royal family in post-war film footage. In 1940 Mass Observation reporter (later to become Managing Director) Len England compiled a newsreel report, which claimed:

> Before the war, the appearances of the King and Queen were less frequent than those of either Chamberlain or Halifax; since the war both of them have appeared more than twice as often as anyone outside the royal family, and whereas on no occasion formerly were they applauded,

[78] Susanna Brown, p. 40.
[79] Behlen and Marschner, p. 6.
[80] *The Coronation of Queen Elizabeth II*.
[81] *Weaving the Queen's Coronation Robe* (British Pathé, 1952).

> now they have been clapped on 20 per cent of their appearances […] The shifting emphasis from politicians to the royal family may indicate that the public now prefers the uninterfering royalty to troublesome Members of Parliament.[82]

According to England, the increase in royal popularity parallels a shifting wartime, and later, post-war identity. The inclusion of royal images assists in the construction of royal celebrity, as films help to mediate royal appearances. The newsreels and television broadcasts of the post-war period draw on an increasing popularity of British royalty in order to increase the desirability of the goods they present.

As previously demonstrated in analysis of the COI, the British royal family was frequently used as a marketing tool during the post-war period to heighten the prestige of fashion designers and their garments. *Shop Windows for Export* is a 1967 film made by the COI for the Board of Trade. It shows a 'British Week' in Lyon, France, used to promote British goods. Alongside references to sixties fashion icon Mary Quant, and British retail brand Marks and Spencer, the film documents the British royal family arriving in Lyon to attend the show.[83] As part of the documentary format 'Look at Life' series, the commercial film company Rank made a film titled *Glamour Gets a Passport* in 1963.[84] It documents the Queen Mother arriving at London's Royal Opera House to see a fashion show 'designed to present what Britain's top dress designers can offer to the world'. In addition, fitting into a trend of films promoting the British textile industry, the COI film *Looking at Britain: Industrial Town* was made in

[82] Len England, 'Newsreel Report', in *Yesterday's News* [report compiled for Mass Observation in 1940], pp. 174-87 (pp. 179-80).
[83] *Shop Windows for Export* (Central Office of Information, 1967).
[84] *Glamour Gets a Passport* (Rank, 1963).

1962 to promote the manufacturing industry in Huddersfield. As part of this promotion, the film's narration speaks proudly of Princess Margaret's links with the town.[85] The significance of these royal appearances has been often been overlooked:

> It has become fashionable among television producers, and even more among media sociologists, to mock the cinema newsreels for their naivety, their strident patriotism, their obeisance to the Royal family, their facetiousness and taste for the banal.[86]

However, the constant celebration of royalty throughout these films is not simply a case of 'obeisance', but rather an astute marketing technique where the royal family and their fairy tale image represent what is superior and exclusive about British fashion heritage to export markets.

Throughout the post-war period, images of the British royal family continued to follow images of British fashion and popular culture. As photographer Cecil Beaton persisted in taking royal portraits, his 'photographic style changed with the times'.[87] In the sixties he increased his work in colour, capturing celebrities such as Mick Jagger, Twiggy, Jean Shrimpton, and Andy Warhol.[88] Photographed by the same photographer as fashion models, musicians, and artists, the royal family were presented as, and amidst, the celebrated popular icons of 'Swinging London' perpetuated throughout the films of the COI (Chapter 4).

---

[85] *Looking at Britain: Industrial Town*, dir. by Norman Hemsley (Central Office of Information, 1962).
[86] Cox, p. 14.
[87] Susanna Brown, p. 52.
[88] Ibid.

One of the most significant changes to British royal wedding coverage in the sixties occurs with Pathé's coverage of Princess Margaret's wedding to fashion photographer Anthony Armstrong-Jones in 1960.[89] *May Wedding* is the first example of Pathé royal wedding coverage that is presented in colour, in this case, Technicolor. This in itself is significant. Pathé are using a new, cinematic technique to present the news. As well as being shot in Technicolor, the film is much more cinematic in terms of its structure, narrative, and performance. The opening titles are set up exactly as one would see in a fictional film of the day, with pink roses in the background, romantic music, and ornate typography. With hindsight, this style immediately conjures images of the opening credits from *My Fair Lady* released four years later, engaging the newsreel in the same filmic language as an Oscar winning film.[90] The glamour and fantasy status afforded to the fairy tale figures of the royal family have drawn news coverage into a dialogue of fiction. This continues in the commentary, which is much more emotive than the narrations of previous weddings, and in this sense sounds much more acted, or over-enunciated. This theatrical quality is furthered through its narration by British stage and screen actor Michael Redgrave.

The evocative nature of the film's constructed narrative really sets it apart from its predecessors. There is a poetic recitation throughout the film of the lines 'Sing a Song of London' and 'May Wedding', written into rhyme:

> Sing a song of London, in the month of May
> London with the flags out, London with the light on,
> London in the evening: gay before the day.[91]

[89] *May Wedding* (British Pathé, 1960).
[90] *My Fair Lady*.
[91] *May Wedding*.

Poetry is not required here for journalistic purposes, and such emotive techniques are designed to enhance the audience's responses. 'London' is repeated frequently throughout this narration, combining romance and patriotism. On its processional route, the royal carriage is seen going past the shops Dunlop Rainwear, Noel Bros, and Finlays, connecting 'Royal London' with commerce and clothing. Reference to the city as 'the heart of the world' speaks to the country's apparent cherished imperial identity and its new push for export markets. The constant references to London landmarks accompanied by a light hearted and playful commentary often appear more like a travelogue for a romantic getaway, than news coverage of a state event.

May Wedding furthers the increasing depiction of 'Royal London' as an accessible space, discussed in relation to Princess Elizabeth's wedding. Moving from the bright lights of central London, the film visits Lambeth, a residential borough of South London. The narration explains,

> There are many rhythms of London's heart,
> None warmer than those down Lambeth way. [92]

Travelling further away from the capital's public spaces familiar with tourists, this film commutes to images of local London. It shows images of neighbours linking arms and dancing in the street outside their homes, decorated with flags and balloons. Others play musical instruments, or crowd around a food table eating jellied eels.

[92] Ibid.

Figure 22: Down Lambeth Way, *May Wedding* (British Pathé, 1960).

For a short instance, the camera focuses on the image of a woman smiling as she watches the celebrations from the open window of her home. Rather than signs of wealth, tradition, and economy, these images present an insight into London's domestic life as part of its royal wedding narrative. 'Royal London' is presented as a place for everyone. The fantasy involvement narrative of a royal wedding appears attainable through its positioning in a local London location that viewers can relate to. The fantasy moves from the picture book and the cinema screen into the spectator's real, everyday world.

The inclusion of the local Londoner in this coverage of an international event works in the same way as the 'invitation' in coverage of Princess

Elizabeth's wedding, and the interviews with Philip Mountbatten's apparent drinking companions. Techniques used to establish feelings of equality between the audience and the royal family in *May Wedding* also includes the description of Buckingham Palace as a 'family home'. As the couple arrives back at the palace after the ceremony, the commentator declares:

> Buckingham Palace. This huge mansion in the very heart of London is these days no longer gloomy. It's first and foremost, a family home, yet to most people it has come to be regarded as the family home of the Commonwealth. The wedding party returns home. Not just to an official residence but to a house, which is gay and tranquil with family life.

Described as a family home to allow for audience identification, the palace is also referred to as 'family home of the Commonwealth', drawing on an increasing global narrative that references current ideologies of cosmopolitanism as world citizenship discussed in Chapter 1 and extended in Chapter 6. An international image, it is nonetheless a difficult one, owing to the complicated nature of Britain's leading role in Commonwealth politics at that time. In addition to being a 'family home', the royal residence is also here exhibited as a fairy tale palace, through scripted reference to a familiar tale. The narrator describes the bride as 'dazzling in her beauty as she warms the heart of London driving in the famous glass coach'.[93] The 'glass coach' signifies of course an allusion to the story of Cinderella, and her journey to the royal ball. Through an increased sense of accessibility and audience equality with the figures on screen, the spectator is brought closer to a royal fantasy of fashionable romance.

[93] Ibid.

The Fairy Tale Princess

The story of Lady Diana Spencer, later to become Diana, Princess of Wales, embodies the conventionally clichéd transformation from a 'plump, pretty teenager to a sleek, groomed, international ambassador'.[94] British fashion designers David and Elizabeth Emmanuel designed Diana's wedding dress. According to Nigel Arch and Joanna Marschner, the pair 'wanted to transform the shy young girl into a fairy-tale princess'.[95] The costume of a fairy tale narrative of transformation, the dress was also implicated in the fashion industry through its creation by fashion, rather than costume designers, leading on from an increasing tradition of ceremonial royal gowns that have been carefully balanced between notions of fashion and anti-fashion. The finished gown is described by biographer Nicholas Courtney as a performance of romance,

> [an] apt creation with its blend of the theatrical and the romantic. Made of ivory pure silk taffeta with an over-layer of pearl-encrusted lace, the dress had a bodice with a low frilled neck-line and full sleeves gathered at the elbow. In keeping with tradition, the bride wore something old – the Carickmacross lace that made up the panels had once belonged to Queen Mary and had now been dyed a slightly lighter shade of ivory than the dress; something new – the dress itself; something borrowed – her mother's diamond earrings and the Spencer tiara and something blue – a tiny blue bow had been stitched into the waist band […] The silk shoes had a central heart motif made of nearly 150 pearls and 500 sequins.[96]

The blend of traditional wedding lore and aristocratic finery described here condenses the royal wedding narrative played out in the media. The borrowed lace connects the dress with a narrative of British history, tying the various strands and chapters of the British brand together.

---

[94] Behlen and Joanna, p. 10.
[95] Arch and Marschner, p. 34.
[96] Courtney, p. 40.

Figure 23: The Fairy Tale Princess, *The Wedding of Prince Charles and Lady Diana Spencer 29 July 1981 St Paul's Cathedral* (British Pathé, 1981).

Diana's response to the international fascination in her dress was significant, as 'she would be the first to give credit to her dress designers and milliners for her sartorial success'.[97] However, despite this more contemporary approach to designers, the dress is used as a spectacle to dazzle audiences, rather than as an attainable model for a viewer's own design. Courtney's description associates the royal family with the wedding traditions observed by many of its viewers, while at the same time distancing Diana as special in its excess of precious elements and handcrafted details. The brochure goes on to highlight further inclusive elements of the day:

> Just like any other family wedding, the bridegroom's mother came down the aisle with the bride's father and the bride's mother with the Duke of Edinburgh […] Another fun touch, to show that it was a family wedding and not a state occasion, was the helium-filled balloons emblazoned with Prince of Wales's Feathers and the sign, 'Just Married' with hearts,

[97] Behlen and Marschner, p. 10.

> written in lipstick on a piece of old cardboard on the back of the landau that took them to Waterloo Station.[98]

In presenting this occasion as 'just like any other family wedding', the media is setting up the wedding dress as representative not only of regal fashion, but of a national industry. Diana's dress is presented as the centerpiece of the event, a showcase for the contemporary artistry of British fashion, while the lace once worn by Prince Charles' grandmother affirms the continuity of the British monarchy and, by extension, the British state. Although there was live television commentary on the day (an earlier version of what we see in 2011), the Pathé newsreel commentary was still in the form of edited highlights, presented in present tense commentary. On the day itself, in a newsreel showing 'The Wedding of Prince Charles and Lady Diana Spencer', Pathé's commentary makes the fairy tale narrative explicit:

> The world gets its first full glimpse of the fairy tale princess, demure behind her veil, and the wedding dress that has been a carefully guarded secret, resplendent ivory silk taffeta, trimmed with antique lace and a long, long train, all 25 feet hand embroidered. As bewitching and romantic a bride as ever touched the heart of the world.[99]

Britain is here presented to the world through a story of romance. The fairy tale princess is traditionally an aspirational figure, whose life and status is transformed by a powerful man. As she approaches Westminster Abbey, the commentator declares, 'Though still a commoner, the pretty English girl will be transformed into the third lady of the realm, Princess of Wales'.[100] Diana's

---

[98] Courtney, pp. 45-47.
[99] *The Wedding of Prince Charles and Lady Diana Spencer 29 July 1981 St Paul's Cathedral* (British Pathé, 1981).
[100] Ibid.

arrival into public consciousness as an unknown ingénue, much younger than her husband, taps into the Cinderella fantasy of an un-regarded girl whose beauty wins the love of a handsome prince. The now conventional assertion that the dress 'has been a carefully guarded secret' again creates an aura of excitement and curiosity about an event watched by a worldwide audience of over seven hundred and fifty million viewers. According to Arch and Marschner, 'the most persistent memory for many must still be that dress, emerging in its ivory glory from the carriage at St Paul's. It was once more, the dress that made the day'.[101] Courtney enthuses, 'Lady Diana soon became a leader of fashion. "The Lady Diana look" was *in* and designers copied her clothes'.[102] Royal wedding costume was having a clear effect on national (and global) fashions. Three years later in 1984, the British department store Marks and Spencer who were referenced alongside the royal family in the COI's 1967 film *Shop Windows for Export*, released a 'Diana fashion book'.[103] Almost a decade later, Diana appeared in the 'International Best Dressed List in 1991/2'.[104] The focus on Diana's wedding wardrobe in 1981 successfully set her up as a recognised 'international [fashion] ambassador', instigating a discussion of her fashions that continued throughout the rest of her life and long after.[105] Diana's marriage did not have a fairy tale ending. In retrospect, Pamela Church Gibson describes the princess as a 'flawed folk hero', the 'ultimate Cinderella whose Prince Charming turned out to be an adulterous frog'. [106] According to Church Gibson, Diana's romantic disappointment, resulting in her battle with weight loss and bulimia, worked to

[101] Arch and Marschner, p. 35.
[102] Courtney, p. 34. Emphasis as in original.
[103] Behlen and Marschner, p. 62.
[104] Ibid., pp. 59-60.
[105] Ibid., p. 10.
[106] Church Gibson, *Fashion and Celebrity Culture*, p. 227.

increase public sympathy and enhance her following as a celebrity, as her identity shifted from that of a princess, to recognition as a 'global [fashion] superstar'.[107]

'Kate and Wills'

The 2011 royal wedding of Prince William to Kate Middleton was transmitted live in Britain on BBC and ITV, simultaneously covered by publically owned, and commercial broadcasters. Viewed by around a third of the world's population, the coverage stretched from early in the morning until well into the afternoon, adding up to almost eight hours of live broadcast on each channel. [108] The first element of national promotion running throughout this coverage is that of London as an iconic city. The 2011 BBC broadcast opens not with images of the prospective bride and groom, but with iconic images of London, encompassing the London Eye, Big Ben, St Paul's and Westminster.[109] We then see a close-up of Buckingham Palace (relating London to royalty), before a montage of images showing the happy couple. Later in the coverage the viewer is taken along the royal route to Westminster Abbey, used as a mechanism through which to present recognisable images of key London landmarks. The BBC coverage for example pauses over a close-up of the 'Downing Street' sign, as a physical signifier for the event's location and its status as a political event. These images place the coverage within a canon of British film and media footage described throughout the preceding chapters, that uses the association of

[107] Ibid., pp. 229-30.
[108] Marr, pp. 363-64.
[109] *The Royal Wedding: HRH Prince William & Catherine Middleton 29th April 2011* (BBC, 2011), Live Coverage.

'Royal London' as a key selling point for the British fashion industry, as well as presenting London as an integral element of Britain's fashion identity. In turn, within this same body of work, the association of the British fashion industry is used to promote the city of London as a key tourist destination and consumption site, acting as a significant element of London's identity.

The use of filmic language traditionally associated with fictional feature films continues in this coverage, with a more explicit connection to make-believe. As journalist Andrew Marr observes,

> It was filmic. The richly coloured uniforms of the male Windsors and the glamorous, British-made dresses of the bride and her new family added to the Harry Potter effect of swooping television shots in the gothic, leafy and stained-glass illuminated Abbey.[110]

Marr's use of the term 'filmic' here presents an idea of fantasy, evoked through reference to the magical fiction of J. K. Rowling's wizard *Harry Potter*.[111] The description of 'swooping' camera angles draws attention to the constructed use of cinematography, and the narrative editing techniques traditionally imposed to tell stories. As I will now show, many of the stories presented here are focused on fashion.

Live coverage has a lot of waiting time to fill. For the first half of live television coverage on both channels, this time is filled with speculation about the bride's wedding dress and its designer, engaging spectators in the event through a build up of suspense. She, Sarah Burton of Alexander McQueen, is not

[110] Marr, p. 364.
[111] *Harry Potter* (Warner Brothers, 2001-2011), based on the books by J.K.Rowling.

announced until Kate Middleton steps out of the car at Westminster Abbey at approximately 11am.

Figure 24: A National Fashion Moment, *The Royal Wedding William and Catherine* (Formative Productions, 2011).

The constant repetition of the dress question, coupled with the enthusiastic and excited responses of the guests on screen, is reminiscent of *Wedding Dress Silk Made in Essex*, building an interest in the dress through future tense commentary. 2011 footage has the advantage of being live, creating a sense of immediacy. However, this added dimension of spontaneity is arguably another illusion. When the designer is finally named, the details are so precise that the live commentary appears staged, a form of 'scripted reality' reminiscent of 'infotainment' shows such as *Made in Chelsea*.[112] The live nature of the commentary allows it to be delivered in a mode of revelation, adding to the excitement of Middleton's arrival at the Abbey as a national fashion moment.

[112] *Made in Chelsea* (E4, 2011-)

Thus created, it is fixed in film, available for endless re-screenings, part of the event but also justifiable as a moment in its own right. The immediacy of this information is also highlighted, with the global public contributing to the coverage with tweets and emails read out on screen. The story becomes an international narrative, told through multiple voices from across the globe. It is important to remember that the social media messages have been selected, mediated through the control of television producers. However, on the social media sites themselves, a free and flowing global discussion would have been visible. In a presented vision of world citizenship alluding to contemporary concepts of cosmopolitanism described in Chapter 1, online interactivity and instant messaging allow for the stimulation of a global dialogue. This immediacy has an additional economic value. Later, when Middleton departs for her honeymoon in a blue Zara dress priced at £49.99, the promotion of affordable royal fashion culminates in Zara's selling out of duplicate dresses within hours.[113] This interaction with the audience also establishes a shift towards a more personal address, away from ideas of spectator anonymity. ITV 1 take this further, asking viewers to send in photographs of their own street parties and celebrations to be shown as part of the coverage. Writing the public into the narrative of a royal wedding and showing images of audience members alongside those of the royal family, this footage is no longer attempting to present an 'accessible' fantasy, but the illusion of one that is 'accessed'. The public has entered the fairy tale.

[113] 'Why We All Want to Believe in Kate', p. 46.

This royal reporting has an even more emphatic Cinderella theme than that of Diana's wedding, owing to Kate's status as middle class. Though described as a 'commoner', Diana Spencer was born into nobility. The story of Kate Middleton, the daughter of a middle class family, becoming a princess is tied in to her combination of couture and ready to wear, concluding an aspirational message of social transformation. Cue ITV commentator Philip Schofield's observation of the bridal gown: 'So if you imagined a fairy tale princess and her dress, is that the picture you had in your mind? I think perhaps it might have been.'[114] The 2011 ITV 1 coverage takes time to focus on the Britishness of the wedding dress's manufacture, as well as its design: 'the dress epitomises timeless British craftsmanship by drawing together talented and skilled workmanship from across the United Kingdom,'[115] continuing to tell a tale of continuity through royal dress, despite its simultaneous contextualisation in fashion discourse. Live promotion has the added bonus of seeming less like promotion because it feels spontaneous, but it raises the question as to whether we are so inundated by advertising in our daily lives that we simply stop noticing it.

There are at least three DVD compilations of highlights from the 2011 wedding (BBC, ITV and Formative Productions), all approximately three hours in length. Despite their limited airing time, the compilations find time to include key fashion moments in their commentaries, therefore classing them as eventful. All three DVDs make time to include at least one fashion reference, some of them choosing to make it a focus. The BBC Souvenir DVD includes only

[114] *The Royal Wedding*, ITV Live Coverage (ITV, 2011).
[115] Ibid.

Middleton's arrival at the Abbey revealing both the dress and its designer to the world, but its inclusion in the highlights places this moment at the same level as official moments in the event's schedule and routine, emphasising its national significance.[116]

The Formative Productions souvenir DVD comes with a fashion guide booklet and focuses the majority of its commentary on fashion, introducing guests and critiquing their level of closeness to the royal family based on what they have decided to wear.[117] The chronology of the wedding day is altered from the beginning, starting with the couple's Buckingham Palace balcony kiss after the ceremony, edited for dramatic, narrative effect. The DVD's distancing from the event allows it to be more critical. As well as praise for British designers there are also scathing remarks on guests' wardrobe choices, added for entertainment value.

Figure 25: The Royal Princesses, *The Royal Wedding William and Catherine* (Formative Productions, 2011).

[116] *The Royal Wedding - William and Catherine* (BBC, 2011), Souvenir DVD.
[117] *The Royal Wedding William and Catherine* (Formative Productions, 2011).

The media's fairy tale Cinderella discourses surrounding the 2011 royal wedding continued in discussion of Princess's Beatrice and Eugenie's dress choices. Circulating the internet in the days following, were doctored images of the ugly sisters from Disney's *Cinderella*, manipulated so that their dresses matched the dusty pink of Beatrice's Valentino outfit, and the blue of Eugenie's Vivienne Westwood dress. Cinderella has also been given brown hair, to match Kate Middleton, whilst the colour of Prince Charming's uniform has been altered to the colours of that worn by William. These images, found on online gossip sites and blogs such as 'The Morton Report: Where Popular Culture Meets Swanky Living', presents the discourse on royal weddings and fairy tales as an online media trend, [118] amidst scathing remarks on the Princesses' 'Ridiculous Hats'.[119]

Despite its critical tone, the Formative Productions DVD continues to fall under the promotional banner. The commentator declares: 'I defy any woman to say that a man doesn't look very handsome in a morning coat, especially if it's cut by Savile Row'.[120] The Mayfair headquarters of London's elite tailors Savile Row is mentioned again here in the description of brother of the bride James Middleton's suit. The British manufacturing of Kate Middleton's dress is also highlighted in the Formative Productions DVD, with more detail than in the ITV live commentary:

---

[118] ddarlingo, 'Princesses Beatrice and Eugenie Inspired by Cinderella's Ugly Step-sisters?', *The Morton Report,* (12.05.2011), <http://www.themortonreport.com/celebrity/royals/princesses-beatrice-and-eugenie-inspired-by-ugly-step-sisters-from-cinderella/> [accessed 05.06.2015].
[119] Deborah Arthurs, 'Bea and Eugenie Strike Again! The Princesses Top the Fashion Flops Yet Again in Outlandish Outfits', *Mail Online,* (01.05.2011), <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/femail/article-1382443/Royal-wedding-2011-Princess-Beatrice-Eugenies-outlandish-outfits.html> [accessed 05.06.2015].
[120] *The Royal Wedding William and Catherine* (Formative Productions, 2011).

> It's very interesting […] to look at the details that as much of it was made in England as possible. The lace work on the bodice and on the hem is made by the Royal School of Needlework and apparently Sarah Burton set up a design studio next door to the Royal School of Needlework in Hampton Court Palace and a lot of the fittings were executed there because obviously the designer of the dress had to be kept top secret.[121]

This coverage is setting itself up within the tradition of British film and media coverage to promote Britain not only as a fashion centre, but also as a manufacturing nation, a centre of craftsmanship endorsed by royal appointment.

The influence of tradition on contemporary footage can be explored through Altman's theories on genre and 'spectator memory', a 'pseudo-memorial function' that 'implant[s] in spectators the necessary memories' for them to understand the codes of subsequent genre films. [122] We cannot view a present day royal wedding without being influenced by the generic expectation incited by memories of the royal weddings we have already seen. Owing to this generic process of 'spectator memory', we expect a fashion-based commentary in contemporary coverage of royal weddings, just as we do in the Oscars. British media tradition has created the popular desire for a fashion-based royal events commentary that means if it is not included, we are disappointed. We are, in essence, waiting for the adverts. Audience anticipation has been built up through the cross-generational use of tropes from the twenties to the present day, giving British media coverage of royal weddings a standard formula that develops, but does not change. This coverage works alongside depictions of British royalty in promotional fashion films by British Pathé and the COI, and, in the following

[121] Ibid.
[122] Altman, p. 191.

chapter, the Olympics, conjuring the image of 'Royal London' as a significant element of London's fashion heritage. Members of the British royal family are here presented not only as national subjects, but also as national representatives. Shifts in their dress presents shifts in the royal family, which, in turn, present shifts in British national identity.

As an accoutrement of spectator memory and audience expectation, the white wedding dress acts as a uniform of royal wedding coverage: a uniform of the state, representing the continuity of the British royal family, but also a uniform of gendered continuity and ideology. Throughout history, heightened femininity, and the patriarchal transformation from single girl to married woman have been represented by a white dress. Transformational moments of national celebration foregrounding the royal family are embodied through the uniforms of the military, and the bride. The wedding dress is also a uniformed symbol of fairy tale. Here, the dress is presented as a state-enforced symbol of womanhood. Just as the outfits of *Make Do and Mend* in Chapter 3, and the miniskirt in Chapter 4, the wedding dress forms the perfect combination of glamour and uniform, imposed by state-driven media campaigns. Alongside the bride, female guests are also dressed in national uniforms. As their male dates don the decoration of the Army Air Corps or the Blues and Royals', women walk down the media catwalk labelled with the British regiments of Burberry, and Catherine Walker.

Royal wedding dresses and Coronation gowns are also shown in this chapter to act as Commonwealth uniforms, facilitating state messages to be displayed on the female body, with women continuing to be mobilised as

subjects of state campaigning. Despite descriptions of traditional royal dress as anti-fashion, certain contemporary royal brides are mobilised as national fashion ambassadors, doing their national duty in the same way as the resourceful housewife in Chapter 3. Just as the women in the previous two chapters, the bride is here presented as a gendered, national subject. Though the royal groom is perpetually dressed in military uniform, this is rarely the subject of the state's narrative. This suggests that, while men are naturally mobilised through masculine pursuits, women have to wait to be mobilised by film, through a male voice over, as though receiving permission from the state.

More striking in the live coverage of the 2011 royal wedding is the amount of broadcasting space set aside for a discussion of British fashion. However, one could also argue that the commentary focuses on seemingly 'frivolous' fashion moments to give a feeling of immediacy and accessibility, both to the time of the event itself and to its royal figures. This was an early technique to make royal coverage feel as live as possible, at a time when live broadcasting was not an option. In the 2011 coverage, it is the use of fashion that permits audience identification with the royal family. But the opposite is also true, that the fashion elements of the day have become privileged as exceptional moments, not only fashion moments, but events in themselves.

Throughout the history of royal wedding coverage, the royal wedding dress has signified the transformation of a bride. However, in contemporary royal media we can also see that fashion is emphasised around hybrid figures such as Diana, Princess of Wales, and Kate Middleton, the Duchess of Cambridge; figures who have not been born into the royal family, and who have therefore

undergone a heightened transformation process into princess. Fashion is a tool through which these figures can physically embody and display their received royal identity, distinguishing them as special whilst also acting as a bridge between the royal line and the general public. By marrying into the royal family they are also marrying into a fantasy, in part transformed into mythological characters, who are bound by our readings and subsequent expectations of fairy tale characters, at the same time as they continue to influence future stories.

The history of screen media's reports of royal weddings brings together a number of different aspects of Britishness that cluster around a theme of dress, namely a Britain of industry, commerce, craftsmanship, pageantry, tradition, innovation, and international importance. It is as though each is attempting to hold together the past and present within Britain, with the wedding dress as the tie that binds them. Fashion paradoxically both looks back and refreshes. The media narrative of Kate and Will's romantic relationship significantly begins in a transformation fashion moment. William sees Kate in a student fashion show and she is 'revealed in a new light'.[123] The BBC documentary *William and Kate, a Royal Engagement* (2011) argues of Kate, 'It doesn't really matter what she does or what she thinks or what she says, she is going to be seen as a fashion icon'.[124] The suggestion here is that Prince William's wife was destined to become an ambassador for the national fashion industry, whoever she was. Kate fits into the contemporary role of royal bride, fulfilling a set of traditions that have gradually been developed by those who have walked down the Abbey aisle before her.

[123] *William and Kate, a Royal Engagement* (BBC, 2011).
[124] Ibid.

Access to ‘Royal London’ implies access to a fairy tale fantasy. The fiction of transformation enters the real world through the story of a real royal family, occupying real places that exist beyond the limits of literature and the imagination. The transformation also appears real through its presentation as live coverage, occupying a specific moment in time that can be shared simultaneously by its audience. The subsequent inclusion of spectators within the fairy tale narrative through social media interaction tells the viewer that the images on screen are real, authenticated through a proven dialogue with the outside world. However, despite the illusion of spontaneity, live royal wedding coverage continues to present a constructed and mediated fashion narrative that draws on traditional, fantasy tales of romantic transformation. Implicated in the ‘happily ever after’ format of fairy tale fiction, royal wedding coverage continues to complicate the categorisation of non-fiction British fashion film in the contemporary period.

6

Imaginations of 'Olympic London'

In 1987 academic and cultural historian Robert Hewison asked how long it would be 'before the United Kingdom became one vast museum'.[1] This question conjures the image of a dystopian future, in which culture has lost all potential for creativity and originality. Hewison suggests that Britain is condemned to endless repetition, 'hypnotised by images of the past'.[2] He writes that although 'individually, museums are fine institutions, dedicated to the high values of preservation, education and truth; collectively, their growth in numbers points to the imaginative death of this country'.[3] Hewison refers here to Britain's cultural obsession with stories of its own history, and the commodification of historical narratives by cultural institutions. He terms this 'the heritage industry', arguing 'Instead of manufacturing goods, we are manufacturing *heritage*'.[4] This heritage is, perhaps ironically, often based on a history of goods manufacture, including the British fashion and textile industries, which have long been in a state of decline. Hewison criticises the products of the heritage industry as 'fantasies of a world that never was', constructed stories like the institutionally selected narratives of archives, discussed in Chapter 2.[5]

In 2012 London acted as host city for the Olympic Games. Official Olympic broadcaster, the BBC, televised the games live in Britain and overseas.

[1] Hewison, p. 9.
[2] Ibid., p. 10.
[3] Ibid., p. 9.
[4] Ibid. Emphasis as in original.
[5] Ibid. p. 10

The Opening and Closing Ceremonies told stories of Britain's history through heritage narratives of Britain's manufacturing industries, and its clichéd status as 'workshop of the world'. The manufacture of fashion and textiles are incorporated into a promotional narrative of Britain's cultural export industries, represented and symbolised by the now stereotypical icons of British identity; namely miniskirts, the Union Jack, and the London skyline. These icons are authenticated through association with the exclusive and glamorous heritage of the British royal family, discussed in Chapter 5. The fantasies of this heritage are inadvertently acknowledged by the combined narrative of children's fantasy literature, interwoven into the Olympic story of Britain's past. This imagined narrative of British history is set up paradoxically against simultaneous imaginings of Britain's future, the conjuring of cosmopolitan narratives in which Britain is a host for global citizenship.

In the Opening Ceremony broadcast directed by Danny Boyle, president of the International Olympic Committee Jacques Rogge exalts: 'Thank you London, for welcoming the world to this diverse, vibrant, cosmopolitan city yet again'.[6] The aspiration towards global dialogues through social media commentary in contemporary live coverage of royal weddings (seen in Chapter 5) is extended in the Olympic broadcasts, which welcome an international audience to London. The capital's status as a host city motivates an explicit discourse of cosmopolitanism. As discussed in Chapter 1, this is not an exclusively London discourse, but moreover, a popular promotional term used by

[6] *London Olympic Games Opening Ceremony 2012*, dir. by Danny Boyle (BBC, 2012).

urban planners and politicians as part of a homogenised urban discourse of interchangeable (Western) global cities, including Paris and New York.

As set out in Chapter 1, Gerard Delanty outlines contemporary definitions of cosmopolitanism as a way of 'imagining the world', and imagining the self as a 'global citizen'. As a 'social imaginary of the modern world', it is the construct of a utopian fantasy, an aspiration that is, by definition, unattainable.[7] Jacqueline Rose discusses 'cosmopolitanism' as a term that 'requires us to suspend our disbelief'.[8] She writes, 'cosmopolitanism hovers somewhere between an assertion, this is the reality of the world, and a desire, if only this was how the world could be. […] [It] has the character of being at once a description and a fantasy'.[9] In this sense, cosmopolitanism exists alongside fashion as a fiction of global unification, a fiction that extends to the classification of events, cultural forms, and genres, as world brands. In line with this idea, Pheng Cheah defines the concept of a 'world literature'.

> Cosmopolitanism is primarily about viewing oneself as part of a world, a circle of belonging that transcends the limited ties of kinship and country to embrace the whole of humanity. However, since we cannot *see* the universe, the world, or humanity, the cosmopolitan optic is not one of perceptual experience but of the imagination. World literature is an important aspect of cosmopolitanism because it is a type of world-making activity that enables us to imagine a world.[10]

Cheah here refers to the strength of the imaginary function in stories through which cosmopolitan worlds can be imagined. Rose suggests that this approach to 'cosmopolitanism' as a concept accessed through the imagination presents 'a

---

[7] Delanty, 'The Emerging Field of Cosmopolitanism Studies', pp. 3-4.
[8] Rose, p. 41.
[9] Ibid.
[10] Cheah, p. 138. Emphasis as in original.

flexibility of individual psychic processes being offered as the answer to the rigid definitions of political life'.[11] As Rose goes on to argue, the imagination is a complex faculty possessed by a conflicting range of human emotions. According to Rose, 'we might say the concept of cosmopolitanism is in danger of a twin denial'.[12] She explains this as 'First, […] the gravitational pull or thrill of national identities, but second and no less, of the violent and more pained component of what any psychic identity can be'.[13] Expanding on this idea of a psyche pained by the conflict between national identity and global citizenship, Rose continues,

> If we see it [cosmopolitanism] as a new prototype, we still need to ask what happens to the mind, what does it do to itself as it crosses the border, only to find itself not embraced by or embracing a new openness of belonging, but instead mourning bitterly, and in the face of potential violence for its home.[14]

Even within the fantasy world of the imagination, a fully open, cosmopolitan world is difficult to imagine, or sustain. Rose argues here that the concept of home, represented through stories of national identity, conflicts with idealised narratives of world citizenship. The cosmopolitan utopia is 'tainted' by the schizophrenic integration of national and global fantasies,[15] and the paradoxes among 'utopian visions', violence, and exploitation,[16] interconnectedness, crisis and war,[17] formed by cosmopolitanism as a Western perspective, discussed in Chapter 1. The conflict between national identity and global citizenship also

---

[11] Rose, p. 43.
[12] Ibid.
[13] Ibid.
[14] Ibid.
[15] Ibid., p. 41.
[16] Stacey, 'Whose Cosmopolitanism', p. 34.
[17] Irving and Schiller, 'Introduction: What's in a Word?', p. 4.

reflects tensions in the capitalist exploitation of cultural diversity, discussed by Schiller in Chapter 1, and the binary between national tradition, and urban, cosmopolitan progress.

As outlined in Chapter 1, academic debate on cosmopolitanism presents an ideological inconsistency between capitalist globalisation and cosmopolitan ideals of human equality. Doreen Massey identifies the contradiction inherent between modern definitions of 'cosmopolitanism' as the imagining of world citizenship, and the neoliberal culture of competition between international cities.[18] She here discusses the relationship between economy and cosmopolitanism in London storytelling:

> It is around its financial pre-eminence that London is most often accorded world-city status. It is a story, replicated with variations in country after country, which has been repeated so often and so loudly that it has come to have the status of common sense. It is difficult to think otherwise.[19]

The Olympic narrative is a linear story told chronologically. Drawing on replicated London icons seen in British fashion films since the beginning of the twentieth-century, the Olympic broadcasts reference national institutions of continuity, heightening the sense of repetition surrounding stories of London.

Yeoh and Lin explore the manifestation of city competition as a fight to host 'globe-fitting mega-events' like the Olympic Games. They argue,

[18] Massey, p. 8.
[19] Ibid., p. 18.

> To wit, these novel forms of representation strive not just to celebrate cities' capacity to welcome a myriad of people of disparate origins, but also endeavour to conjure cosmopolitanism as a major selling point and exchangeable currency for aspiring cities as proof of global status.[20]

According to Yeoh and Lin, national discourses of cosmopolitanism demonstrate a 'new language of urban success', in which cities project themselves as cosmopolitan in order to improve their global status.[21] In the London 2012 Olympic Games, the term 'cosmopolitan' is used as a predominant element of its storytelling. We can here see British media coverage capitalising on this idea of acting as a host nation, extending a hospitable hand of welcome to international visitors. However, in Rose's argument for the inherent contradictions between the national and the cosmopolitan, we can see the inconsistencies between the BBC's promotional media discourse, and the conflicting realities of neoliberalism, and the concept of home.

Focusing on the Opening and Closing Ceremonies as both national, and world events, this chapter traces three integrated transformation narratives: the transformation of nation into global host, of athletic stadium into international catwalk, and of British icons into global commodities. Through these transformational tales, I trace the narratives of British identity, and the BBC's attempts to reposition them in a global setting. I plot their re-contextualisation within a promotional framework of cosmopolitanism, communicated through a discourse of global citizenship. I analyse the continuing roles of fairy tales and narratives of transformation in forming the representational image of 'Olympic London', as a cosmopolitan city. The first section of this chapter establishes

[20] Brenda S.A. Yeoh and Weiqiang Lin, 'Cosmopolitanism in Cities and Beyond' in *Routledge Handbook of Cosmopolitanism Studies,* ed. by Gerard Delanty, pp. 208-19 (p. 208).
[21] Ibid.

themes of inclusivity and accessibility that frame the games in narratives of togetherness and hospitality. I then apply this image of a unified nation to the performative history of Britain and British creativity, a segment of the Opening Ceremony titled 'Isles of Wonder'. I consider the deployment of 'faction' in narratives of British royalty designed to legitimise and authenticate tales of national heritage, before considering the role of children's fantasy literature within the same story. I trace the promotion of British fashion within these narratives, as part of a wider cultural export drive that includes British literature, music, and film.

Britain is represented in coverage of the 2012 Olympic Games Opening and Closing Ceremonies through the combined images of global city, and family home. Like the stories explored in Chapters 3, 4, and 5, coverage of the 2012 Olympic Games promotes the local to attract the global. However, the image of fashion associated with a glamorous, jet setting, lifestyle is here extended to promote fashion as an icon of hospitality. Rather than a symbol of Britain looking out *to* the world, fashion is here presented as an invitation, welcoming visitors to Britain, as a place *for* the world.

'All Together Now'

The promotion of the London 2012 Olympic Games as an accessible, inclusive event that celebrates ideas of unity and equality is presented in a BBC TV trailer titled 'One Amazing Summer', aired immediately preceding the 'Olympics

Countdown', the final programme before the Opening Ceremony.[22] The one minute thirty second film was made to celebrate the 'amazing summer events broadcast on BBC One' in 2012: The Queen's Diamond Jubilee, Euro 2012, and London 2012 Olympic Games. The trailer sets up an image of UK television viewing that attempts to identify with a cross-sector of the national public. It shows British people heading home and settling down to watch the television, edited to the Beatles soundtrack, 'All Together Now'.[23]

The trailer begins with the instrumental opening to the Beatles' song. On screen, we see a young woman in everyday plain clothes. Her hair is tied up in a messy ponytail. She is wearing blue jeans, trainers, a white T-shirt and yellow cardigan, with a brown leather handbag slung across her chest. She looks like anyone the audience could know, a regular British citizen. She is carrying two plastic shopping bags, immediately identifying the average British citizen as a consumer. Through the side of one of the bags a magazine cover is just visible, with 'Diamond Jubilee 60 Years' written in red and blue on the white cover. The Queen's Jubilee is set up here as a media narrative to be consumed. When the trailer was aired immediately before the Olympic countdown on the 27 July 2012, the Jubilee had already happened. On this day, the Jubilee reference was no longer advertising its forthcoming coverage, but acting as part of a trailer for the Olympic Games. In this context, the Diamond Jubilee celebrations are written into the Olympic narrative, connecting this analysis with the preceding

[22] BBC, 'One Amazing Summer on BBC One' (2012), BBC One Trailers, BBC <http://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/p00tf09k> [accessed 13.10.2014].
[23] 'All Together Now', written by Paul McCartney, performed by The Beatles, from *Yellow Submarine* (EMI, 1968).

discussion of royal events footage in Chapter 5. I will return to this theme later in the chapter.

In the 'One Amazing Summer' trailer, the regular looking young woman walks down a street of attractive, moderately sized terraced houses with red doors, moving from the left of the screen to the right. As she does so, she glances at her watch. In time with guitar strums in the music, 180 degree continuity editing is employed with a match on action cut to transform the young woman into a middle aged man in a white T-shirt, black shorts and football boots, holding a football, with a red sports bag slung over his shoulder. He is walking down a street past moderately sized detached houses, moving in the same direction as the woman before him. Through this transformation, the Queen's Jubilee reference in the former image is associated with sport.

This continuity editing continues to connect a multi-class, multi-ethnic group of British citizens for the duration of the trailer. The walkers mainly pass backdrops of residential buildings or parks. Significantly, when the Olympic Games were not being seen on location in the Olympic park, they were watched on televisions in homes, and on big screens in public parks. In this trailer, individuals are brought together through a combination of shared public and domestic spaces, continuity editing, music, and the colour red. Like the red dresses of the 'V for Victory' girls in the COI's *Sixty Years of Fashion* (Chapter 4), red continues to act as a symbol of unified British identity, referencing national icons such as the Union Jack, royal military uniforms, the national postal service, and the red bus. However, this trailer acts as part of an Olympic

cosmopolitan dialogue. Rather than promoting a distinctly British post-war sensibility as a victorious island nation, this symbolic British colour branding is attempting to place British national identity within a global context.

During the next part of the trailer's sequence the soundtrack lyrics begin '1,2,3,4, Can I have a little more? 5,6,7,8,9,10, I love you', the increasing numbers identifying a count up to the games, that invokes a sense of anticipation. Once each of the characters has been seen once, the sequence returns to show them quickening their steps, rushing to get home on time. Corresponding to an increasing soundtrack tempo, the characters are shown in faster succession with less definite distinction between them the closer they get to the television and the Olympic opening. In this sense, the Olympic Games are shown to represent a unifying presence in the lives of ordinary people. Continuing through match-on-action cuts, the characters run towards their respective homes, and turn their keys in their locks. Despite the differing styles of home juxtaposed in this sequence, continuity editing brings them together. Three kettles in three simultaneous kitchens have their lids removed, before being filled with water. Clothes and toys are pushed from an array of sofas, and groups of people (in one image, BBC presenters Fern Cotton and Reggie Yates) squeeze together, as the soundtrack's chorus begins repeating the line 'all together now'. Families search behind cushions for the remote control, put their feet up and lean forward towards the screen. The trailer ends with a black background, and the white words 'All together now for one amazing summer'. The inclusion of media personalities in a montage designed to represent ordinary British people promotes the idea that

celebrities are as accessible as the family next door. The people at home and the people on screen are ‘all’ experiencing the games ‘together’.

Transformed from individuals to national representatives, these characters present an image of equality and shared experience in British identity that is multi-cultural, multi-class, multi-gendered, and multi-ethnic, encouraging increased audience identification with the games. The families on screen settled on their sofas act as a reflected image of their spectators, watching them from their own homes. Like a magic fairy tale mirror, this identification with the onscreen characters transports the audience into the television set and further, into the story. Like the social media participants of royal wedding coverage discussed in Chapter 5, the at home television Olympic viewer is given an illusion of access to the games. Significantly, this sequence encourages audience identification through the domestic space as an environment that, it is assumed, most people will be able to recognise and relate to, perpetuating techniques used since the early fashion films of British Pathé (Chapter 3) and the COI (Chapter 4). Repetition of the lyrics ‘I love you’ in the trailer’s soundtrack associate this national citizenship with fantasies of love, both romantic and familial, following generic tropes of the non-fiction British fashion film discussed throughout this thesis. However, in the bringing together of British citizens, the love referred to in this sequence is not presented as a specific, individual love between two people, but as the love of a national public, for one other. The subject of romantic fantasy has shifted in this chapter, from the individual, to the nation.

Hospitality

In a montage that mixes images of council flats with large family homes, and celebrities with everyday people, the 'One Amazing Summer' trailer promotes the idea of London as an inclusive city. In the 'Olympic Countdown' that follows, the presenter declares: is 'Everybody ready to welcome the world?'[24] Media coverage of the Olympic Games is here aspiring to a Kantian idea of hospitality. According to Kant in 1795, 'The Law of World Citizenship Shall Be Limited To Conditions of Universal Hospitality'.[25] He explains, 'Hospitality means the right of a stranger not to be treated as an enemy when he arrives in the land of another'.[26] Kant believed that hospitality would allow 'distant parts of the world' to 'come into peaceable relations with each other', and the human race to 'gradually be brought closer and closer to a constitution establishing world citizenship'.[27] However, for Kant, hospitality should be limited only to a 'temporary sojourn', a visit. According to his work *Perpetual Peace*, 'it is not the right [of the stranger] to be a permanent visitor'.[28]

These restrictions on length of stay adhere to a sense of opposites in the concept of hospitality, which welcomes, but only on the host's terms. Paraphrasing the work of Jacques Derrida, Judith Still writes, 'Hospitality *as* ethics is unconditional and unconditioned hospitality, so immediate that nothing of the guest can be known and no invitation can be made. Instead the guest

[24] *BBC Olympic Countdown* (BBC, 2012).
[25] Immanuel Kant, *Perpetual Peace* (London: Filiquarian Publishing, 2007) [first published in 1795], p. 21.
[26] Ibid.
[27] Ibid., p. 22.
[28] Ibid., p. 21.

arrives, a visitation, and the host is totally open'.[29] However, as she goes on to argue, this sense of complete openness is 'impossible for any nation state or any individual subject'.[30] There is a conflict of interests between philosophical ideals of openness, and the practical considerations of 'crossing boundaries […] between self and other, private and public, inside and outside, individual and collective, personal and political, emotional and rational, generous and economic'.[31] These conflicting loyalties lead Derrida to conclude that hospitality is always a paradox, which holds within it its own opposites.

The concept of 'hospitality' in the developing aspirations of a discourse on cosmopolitanism is helpful in providing a way in to understand the storytelling of the Olympic Games. The concept of hospitality is a complex one that is inherently connected with the role of London acting as a host city. Visitors to the Olympic Games arrived by invitation. Their visit was expected, anticipated, and planned for, allowing it to adhere to a set of political regulations. Illustrating the paradoxical nature of hospitality outlined here by Still, Olympic media coverage welcomed the world as a temporary guest, whilst asking them to buy into the identity of the British host.

In his Opening Ceremony speech, chair of the London 2012 Organising Committee Sebastian Coe addresses his guests as follows:

> Your Majesty, Your Majesties, Your Highnesses, President Rogue, distinguished guests, Ladies and Gentlemen. To everyone in this stadium,

[29] Judith Still, *Derrida and Hospitality: Theory and Practice* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2010), p. 8. Emphasis as in original.
[30] Ibid., p. 9.
[31] Ibid., p. 4.

> attending our Opening Ceremony, to every athlete ready, waiting, prepared to take part in these games, to everyone, in every city and village in the world, watching as we begin, welcome to London. Welcome, welcome to the 2012 Olympic Games, welcome from every one of us [...] I have never been so proud to be British and to be a part of the Olympic movement as I am on this day, at this moment. The Olympics brings together the people of the world in harmony and friendship and peace to celebrate what is best about mankind.[32]

In this speech, the 'everyman' is welcomed in the same introduction as the royal family, the president of the Olympic Committee, and various 'distinguished guests'.[33] An idea of equality is driven forwards which continues trying to promote feelings of inclusivity and welcome, pushing the idea that everyone is in this together, the 'people's games'.[34] However, the class-based structure to this introduction also continues to re-affirm the hierarchical traditions set in place in Britain's past, of upstairs and downstairs, and the specifically British class system, still governed by a royal family. This has proved a highly successful transatlantic export narrative in the form of ITV period drama *Downton Abbey*.[35] The speech is both encouraging a feeling of inclusivity whilst retaining the appearance (or stereotype) of British class traditions. Alongside the attempt at achieving feelings of global inclusivity, connectedness, and equality, the opening of Coe's speech also highlights 'British' national identity as privileged. 'I have never been so proud to be British'. Associations and separations of various kinds are set up at the very beginning of Olympic Games coverage between the ordinary person and the elite, and between Britain and the world. This separation, created through a suggestion of national supremacy, sits uneasily with the

---

[32] *London Olympic Games Opening Ceremony 2012*.
[33] Like the 'everyman' of fairy tale discussed in Chapter 1, Bettelheim, p. 40.
[34] BBC, 'The People's Games: London 2012', (2012), <http://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/p00x8gpc> [accessed 19.12.2014].
[35] *Downton Abbey*, dir. by Julian Fellowes (ITV 1, 2010 - 2015).

concept of cosmopolitanism as the imagining of a shared, equal, global citizenship.

‘Isles of Wonder’

The story of cosmopolitan London is set against familiar images of Britain’s past, invoking a sense of national heritage in line with Hewison’s claims at the start of this chapter. The relationship between the past, present, and future is staged in the 2012 BBC ‘Olympics Countdown’, in a question posed to Danny Boyle, director of the Opening Ceremony; ‘To what extent did you manage to balance the past, the present, and what you think will be the future?’ Boyle replies,

> You've got to remember where you've come from, you've got to have that respect for the past and for the heritage, but […] you're trying to push forward really as much as you can. This is really about youth […]. And not just in a PR sense, this is actually about the next generation.[36]

This focus on youth as the next generation of British leaders connects with the shift in focus of COI films in the sixties, to focus on a teenage audience (Chapter 4). As well as looking to young people in hope for the future, the Olympic Opening Ceremony follows a further trope of the COI films, in telling stories of British history to promote contemporary national identity. Boyle’s statement also suggests that history is simply about generations passing things on. In fact, the story of industry that Boyle constructs is far more dramatic and powerful than this suggests.

[36] *BBC Olympic Countdown*.

When the London 2012 Olympic Opening Ceremony begins, the image of an inclusive nation is embodied through a performance of Britain's past. Rather literally, the 'Isles of Wonder' sequence tells a story of British history, from the medieval through to the present day.[37] In the combined theatrics of set design, choreography, costume, and sound, we watch as Britain is transformed from parochial village to global city, an enabling environment for the citizens of 'One Amazing Summer'. From the title of the games 'London 2012' through to the countdown sequence that starts the Opening Ceremony, Britain is represented through the identity of its capital. Numerical images count down from sixty, using numbers from across the city.

.

When the countdown reaches one, the film cuts to an underwater shot of the Thames, moving up into the daylight to focus on a stone carved with the words 'Isles of Wonder' to 'mark the source of the River Thames'. The film then takes its viewers on a journey down the river into London. Along the way, the camera pauses to focus on a mixture of staged activity and 'real' life archival footage to give a sense of the river's heritage and significance to British life. We see contemporary images of two young boys fishing, and a group of people outside a pub raising sun parasols whilst cheering and waving. We also see footage from historical sporting events, alongside an acted game of cricket taking place inside the Olympic stadium. In the midst of this activity, we stop briefly to see animated characters from 'The Wind in the Willows' having fun on the water.[38] As we reach the Olympic stadium, there are real clouds in the sky, but also prop clouds in the arena, held on strings by volunteers. Like the early

[37] *London Olympic Games Opening Ceremony 2012*.
[38] Kenneth Grahame, *The Wind in the Willows* (London: Methuen & Co, 1908).

newsreels and cinemagazines discussed in Chapter 3, this non-fiction public broadcast mixes fact and fiction, news and entertainment, introducing us to a London that is both past and present, real and performed. In addition to the erosion of generic boundaries discussed in Chapter 3, this sequence presents a developing set of binaries, between history and reconstruction, live performance and the staged event, specific to the Olympic ceremonies' combination of entertainment, and live television broadcasting.

The image of London is brought further into the world of fiction through the representation of time. As the flight over the Thames reaches the centre of London, the film moves over the city taking in iconic sights such as Westminster, Big Ben, St Paul's, and Tower Bridge, in an intertextual scene reminiscent of the Darling children's flight over London in Disney's *Peter Pan*.[39] In both scenes, there is a sense of storytelling that is outside of time. When the four children fly past Big Ben in *Peter Pan*, Peter lands on the hand of the big clock pointing at twelve, his weight moving the hand down to quarter past. In the Olympic ceremony flyover, the hands of Big Ben are moving rapidly around the clock face, without alluding to any particular moment. In both, the rejection of fixed time gives an impression of timelessness, like the no time of fairy tale outlined in Chapter 1. We are entering London within a story, outside the temporal dimensions of real life. I will return to the relationship between *Peter Pan* and the Olympic Opening Ceremony later in this chapter.

[39] *Peter Pan*, dir. by. Wilfred Jackson, Hamilton Luske, and Clyde Geronimi (Walt Disney, 1953).

Following the presentation of London as an old-fashioned fairy tale setting is a theatrical staging of British landscapes throughout history. Inside the stadium the stage is designed like a rural, medieval country village. It is covered in grass, and populated with farmhouses that have smoke coming from the chimneys. Animals and windmills surround these houses, with village people working, playing cricket, and dancing around maypoles. The clouds held on strings by the volunteers acknowledge that this is a set of a fictional world contained within the stadium, rather than one that corresponds with the real clouds in the sky above. However, as children's voices sing familiar anthems such as 'Danny Boy', 'Guide Me O Thou Great Redeemer', and 'Jerusalem', the broadcast cuts to images of children's choirs singing in Scotland, Wales, and Northern Ireland, alongside filmed clips from their nations' rugby matches.[40] Combined images of a fictional world interspersed with those of the real, suggest that the stadium set is designed to represent the nation, a story to portray a reality.

As the choirs are singing, actors wearing black tailcoats and top hats begin to enter the stage's 'green and pleasant land', to represent the dawn of industry.[41] British actor Kenneth Brannagh plays the role of engineer Isambard Kingdom Brunel. Standing before the rest of the men, he recites a speech from Shakespeare's play *The Tempest*, re-appropriated for the context of the Industrial Revolution.

[40] 'Danny Boy', words written by Frederic Weatherly, 1910; 'Guide Me O Thou Great Redeemer', words by William Williams, music by John Hughes, 1907; 'Jerusalem', words by William Blake, music by Sir Hubert Parry, 1916.
[41] *London Olympic Games Opening Ceremony 2012*.

Figure 26: Isambard Kingdom Brunel, *London Olympic Games Opening Ceremony 2012*, dir. by Danny Boyle (BBC, 2012).

The preceding performance of the revolution is set up as a world of the imagination, with literature being used to tell a story of Britain's history. Poets John Milton and William Blake are also referenced in the narration, as tellers of Britain's story and products of British culture. British identity is tied up in this narrative with British literature, defined by the intertextual language and description of poetry. The story of British history is acknowledged as the product of imagination and creativity, written through a collection of fictional narratives. Ironically, according to Fredric Jameson, the narration of Olympic stories through the language of pre-told tales diminishes their creativity. As a form of postmodern 'pastiche', the intertextual re-appropriation of language here occupies 'a world in which stylistic innovation is no longer possible, [where] all that is left is to imitate dead styles, to speak through the masks and with the voices of the styles in the imaginary museum'.[42] Like Robert Hewison's anxieties regarding the 'death' of creativity in a culture over-dependent on the

[42] Fredric Jameson, 'Postmodernism and Consumer Society', in *Postmodern Culture,* ed. by Hal Foster (London; Sydney: Pluto Press, 1985), pp. 111-25 (p. 115).

historical narratives of museums, Jameson here gestures to a culture defined and articulated through clichéd voices of its past. We are drawn to a 'fundamental questioning of the notion of originality and correspondingly a new kind of emphasis on citation and intertextuality, parody and pastiche'.[43] Illustrating this, the commentary uses familiar, sentimental, clichéd phrases such as 'workshop of the world', that have been repeated throughout national media narratives for decades, perpetuated through contemporary television series such as *Mary's Bottom Line* and *The Great British Sewing Bee*.[44] By referring to Britain as 'workshop of the world' the Olympic commentary here miniaturises the effects of the industrial revolution, utilising a pre-formed media language, an alliterated saying that is tuneful and memorable, like the oft-repeated catchphrases of fairy tales.

After Brunel's speech, the stage is transformed from rural idyll to industrial city. A tree at the centre of one of the grassy mounds is lifted, 'uprooted' out of the ground.[45] From where it stood, smoke rises, and men in industrial worker's uniforms appear to the sound of one thousand volunteer drummers. As the villagers leave the performance space, they carry with them remains of the rural set. Each stage of Britain's history physically replaces the last, played out in the same space. However, remaining sections of grass serve as reminders of what came before, an image of the past, a 'spectator memory' that impinges on our view of the remaining sequence in the same way as the

[43] Bennett and Royle, p. 251.
[44] *Mary's Bottom Line* (Channel 4, 2012); *The Great British Sewing Bee* (BBC, 2012-).
[45] *London Olympic Games Opening Ceremony 2012*.

traditions of royal wedding coverage invade our perceptions of contemporary footage (Chapter 5).[46]

The 'Isles of Wonder' narrative continues to take its audience through a selection of moments from British history, including the Suffragette movement, the two World Wars, and the 'Swinging Sixties'. The constructed nature of this historical account is visible in chronological inaccuracies. When the narrative reaches the two World Wars, a moment of remembrance is passed in the stadium for those who fell, 'for all people in all countries'. Characters from the Industrial Revolution and the Suffragette movement remain on stage to 'remember', despite that both periods of British history took place long before either the First or Second World Wars occurred. The physical attendance of these characters represents the collapsed boundaries between past and present historical moments in British storytelling, a compression of events that achieves a totalising sense of nationhood. When the five Olympic rings are raised above the stadium, the commentator describes them as 'forging a moment, and an image, that will live with us forever'. As the ceremony draws on significant narrative moments from history to sell an image of Britain in 2012, it simultaneously creates new moments to be drawn on in future constructions of cultural memory.

In his chapter 'Cosmopolitan Memory', Max Pensky examines the relationship between history, social memory, and cosmopolitanism. He argues,

> [T]he conception of social memory encourages us to sideline a discussion of memory as a paradigmatically and individual psychological or

[46] Altman, p. 191.

> neurological process, of the recall of previous individual experiences, and foregrounds instead the claim of social memory as constitutive for collective identity.[47]

As a collective and shared experiential activity, social memory is here described as a cosmopolitan process that includes, rather than excludes the experiences of others. However, as Pensky goes on to explain, cosmopolitan memory is also highly constructed. He writes, 'Beyond preservation and loss, memory's creativity is a process of constant recombination and renegotiation of the content and the mode of a symbolically structured social identity'.[48] In this sense, the Olympic history of Britain framed through cosmopolitan storytelling can be seen as a construction of carefully negotiated collective experiences, patched together to form a single narrative. This patchwork of moments in time including the Industrial Revolution, the Suffragettes, the two World Wars, the 'Swinging Sixties', the Windrush, and the 2012 London Olympic Games interwoven into one conceptual tapestry, constructs a single, contemporary image of British history, forged from selected fragments of communal experiences, and shared memories of collective events. The Olympic Opening Ceremony is here telling a collective version of national heritage, which writes out the difficulties and contradictions held within individual memories.

'Faction' in the 'Jubilympics'

In the following Opening Ceremony sequence, royal celebrations are explicitly written into the Olympic narrative in a short film made for the ceremony by the

[47] Max Pensky, 'Cosmopolitan Memory', in *Routledge Handbook of Cosmopolitanism Studies,* ed. by Gerard Delanty, pp. 254-66 (p. 257).
[48] Ibid.

BBC,[49] extending the reference made to the Jubilee in the trailer for 'One Amazing Summer'. This sequence presents an intertextual narrative that weaves together tales of fact and fiction, in the interplay between the 'real' figure of the Queen, and the fantasy character of James Bond. The merging of a character often presented on news broadcasts and documentaries with one usually confined to action film challenges notions of authenticity surrounding media figures, whilst destabilising accepted notions of what is 'real'. It refers to the postmodern condition, whereby 'the relativization of styles […] throws into doubt the claims of any one discourse or story to be offering the "truth" about the world or an authoritative version of the real'.[50] The 'real' and the make-believe become indistinguishable from the other, in a constant intertextual cycle of representations referencing representations.

This film also acknowledges the relationship between royalty and fashion in national storytelling explored in Chapter 5. The film opens in a tailor's studio with a piece of fabric laid out on a cutting table, referencing familiar images of Savile Row perpetuated through state-sponsored media since the mid twentieth-century (discussed in Chapters 3, 4, and 5). The fabric is cut with tailor's scissors to fit around a circular wooden sewing frame. There is no sound other than the amplified noise of scissors, clearly slicing through the fabric. The next shot shows a tailor's hands sewing gold writing onto the shoulder of a red royal military uniform. On the cutting table are the tailoring scissors, reels of gold and green thread, an open metal box of pins, and an old-fashioned metal sewing machine, continuing the impression of a tailor at work.

---

[49] *Happy & Glorious* (BBC 1, 27.07.2012).
[50] Rice and Waugh, 'Section 4 Postmodernism Introduction', p. 326.

Immediately following the image of the finished garment, the 2012 'Happy & Glorious' film cuts to an image of the Mall leading to Buckingham Palace which is also, significantly, one of the most iconic aspects of the royal wedding processional route. In bird's eye view, the camera pans down the Mall towards the palace, where armed Beefeaters are marching in their iconic red jackets. Still in bird's eye view we see a black London taxi cab making its way through the main gates of Buckingham Palace, before cutting to the Royal Standard flying atop the flagpole, a sign that the Queen is in residence. A few shots later, we see British actor Daniel Craig from behind as he ducks out of the car and into the palace, ascending the red-carpeted stairs. He is wearing a black dinner jacket and a bow tie. As he reaches the top of the stairs the camera cuts to show him from the front, flagged on each side by one of the Queen's corgis. Craig's costume, in addition to the confident and authoritative way he strides through the palace, tell the spectator implicitly that the man they are watching is not Daniel Craig, but his acted character, James Bond. Greeted by a footman, Bond is shown through a series of suites into a regal sitting room. Confirming the spectator's assumption, the footman introduces Craig to an unseen person behind the camera, 'Mr. Bond, your majesty'.

At this, the camera shows the Queen from behind, as she sits working at a writing desk. The grandfather clock in her room chimes 8.30 (pm), the time in the stadium when this film is played, an illusion of real time. When the Queen turns around and replies 'Good evening Mr. Bond', this is a significant national media moment heavily constructed for posterity, as a moment when the Queen steps out of her role as head of state, and into the role of comedic actor.

Introduced through a textiles narrative, this memorable moment between the Queen and James Bond is also associated with fashion, in part, a fashion moment, and a key part of the Olympic fashion story.

James Bond follows the Queen out of the room and down the corridor, helping her out into the palace garden where a helicopter with a Union Jack on its tail is waiting for them. As it transports the pair to the Olympic stadium, the helicopter flies over London in another flight sequence. The image of James Bond taking flight over London simultaneously references a host of corresponding scenes throughout the Bond franchise, such as Pierce Brosnan's roll down the roof of the Millennium Dome, now branded the 02 Arena, in *The World is not Enough*.[51] The helicopter flight combines an image of 'Royal London' with one of 'Bond's London', in a tale of the city that merges its panoply of stories, both 'real' and fiction, in one overarching narrative of 'Olympic London'.

As the helicopter reaches the Olympic stadium, Bond looks out of the window as though he is about to jump, and the Opening Ceremony commentary predicts a 'royal arrival unlike any we've ever seen'. In the live broadcast over the stadium, a helicopter has flown in, in time with the filmed sequence. In the film, James Bond and the Queen jump out of the helicopter. At the same time, two figures fall from the helicopter above the stadium attached to Union Jack parachutes, accompanied by the James Bond theme tune. The figures parachute down just beyond the edges of the stadium. Moments later, the Queen appears in

[51] *The World is Not Enough*, dir. by Michael Apted (MGM, 1999).

the stand wearing the same dress she was wearing in the film, extending the illusion that she has just fallen from the sky, in correspondence with what we have witnessed. Royal dress, literally and symbolically here, acts as a form of continuity; to the film, but also to the tradition of fashion based royal narratives told through British media broadcasts.

The Queen is recognised as a real person, a figure who exists in the real world. She does not appear in the 2012 ‘Happy & Glorious’ sequence through representation by an actor, but as herself. In contrast, James Bond is a character of fiction, written through literature and reinterpreted and visualised through an action film franchise. Nevertheless, his typical ‘British’ character and famous affinity to Savile Row tailoring have made him a character of British export, used to sell images of British goods including the Aston Martin car. As the current actor following a long line of Bond stars including Roger Moore, Sean Connery, and Pierce Brosnan, Craig appears in the 2012 ‘Happy & Glorious’ sequence as a representation of the Bond character. Unlike the Queen, Bond cannot appear as himself, because he does not exist outside the world of fiction. Craig’s value as a promotional figure for British export lies only in his affiliation to the iconic role.

Contemporary media has become saturated with representations and fictions of British fashion to the extent that it has become unclear what is real, reminiscent of the postmodern condition defined by Jean Baudrillard in 1981 as

the 'hyperreal'.[52] Baudrillard describes this as 'not only what can be reproduced, but *that which is always already reproduced*'.[53] We can see this clearly in the 'Happy & Glorious' sequence, an original film created exclusively through intertextual references to the generic tropes of familiar narratives. Baudrillard argues 'it is reality itself that disappears utterly in the game of reality – radical disenchantment, the cool and cybernetic phase following the hot stage of fantasy'.[54] According to Baudrillard, reality disappears in a continuum of replicated representations that obscure an original source. The real and the representation collapse into one another, causing radical disenchantment with the vision of a supposed reality that is exposed as a representational icon. In a world in which 'We live already in an "esthetic" hallucination of reality',[55] 'Disneyland becomes America', and James Bond becomes Great Britain.[56] By speaking to James Bond and taking part in a stunt straight from a Bond movie in the 2012 'Happy & Glorious' film sequence, the Queen also becomes a character in the Bond narrative. Queen Elizabeth II plays a representation of herself, in an imagined parallel universe where Bond is real. In this sense, Bond fictionalises the Queen. At the same time, international audiences are used to seeing Bond in a fictional context. Seeing him interact and exist in the real world with a member of British royalty draws him out of fiction and into reality. The Queen authenticates Bond, an exciting illusion for audiences who have grown up wishing he really existed.

---

[52] Jean Baudrillard, 'Extract from "The Orders of Simulacra" in "Simulations"', trans. by P. Beitchman [first published in French in 1981], in *Modern Literary Theory*, ed. by Philip Rice and Patricia Waugh, pp. 338-40 (p. 338).
[53] Ibid. Emphasis as in original.
[54] Ibid., p. 338.
[55] Ibid.
[56] Rice and Waugh, 'Section 4 Postmodernism Introduction', p. 327.

If we are to follow Baudrillard's writing on the condition of hyperreality, we are forced to accept the notion that nothing, in reality or in fiction, is original. No story can ever be completely new. News stories and action film franchises become intertwined, each referencing the other with corresponding images of Buckingham Palace, 'Royal London', and crowds waving flags on the Mall. Both reality and fiction exist together, on a continuum of replicated representations, eternally tied to, and part of the other. In the case of the London 2012 Olympic Games, both figures of reality and fiction are presented as characters of national identity used to add value to national export and British fashion. The interactivity between these two characters in national storytelling illustrates the corresponding role of celebrities, iconic figures, and fictional personalities, as characters constructed through media narratives in a postmodern culture where celebrity persona is integrated with fictional characterisation. The title of the film shared with that of the Royal Collections DVD in Chapter 5, implies that this collection of real newsreel footage covering real events is also a story of British history that is being told and sold as entertainment.

Following the 'Happy & Glorious' sequence in the London 2012 Opening Ceremony, representatives from the Royal Navy, Royal Armed Forces, and Royal Air Force raise the Union Jack flag, as The Kaos Signing Choir for Deaf & Hearing Children performs the National Anthem, and the camera focuses on the flag blowing in the breeze. The 'Happy & Glorious' film made for the Opening Ceremony, summarised above, draws together the Olympic Games and the Queen's Diamond Jubilee celebrations. The two events have frequently been discussed in partnership in a combined media narrative of the 'Jubilympics', a

phrase coined in the BBC comedy *Twenty-Twelve*, a satire following the fictitious exploits of the Olympic Deliverance Committee.[57] Marie McLoughlin takes on this phrase in her review of London fashion exhibitions happening in 2012, in which she looks at the telling of institutional stories through the exhibition of fashion displays in British establishments such as the V&A and Kensington Palace.[58] The British Fashion Council Annual Report 2011-2012, sets out its annual remit in relation to the platform opportunity afforded by both events: 'The year ahead will see a dedicated programme for 2012, The London Olympics and the Queen's Diamond Jubilee year,' seen as 'providing new opportunities to support and promote British designers to a global audience'.[59] On the 7th March 2012 in a BBC televised debate from the House of Commons, Father of the House Sir Peter Tapsell expresses a desire 'to ensure the Jubilee celebrations have a distinct character from the Olympics'.[60] Whilst both events retain their own identities, they are also combined in an overarching 'character' of Britain in 2012; two chapters in one narrative of national heritage and British fashion export promotion.

Childhood Tales of Fantasy

Cosmopolitanism refers to a world without political boundaries, where national differences are not perceived as markers of nationalism or inhospitality. As

[57] *Twenty Twelve*, dir. by John Morton (BBC Two, 2011-2012).
[58] Marie McLoughlin, 'Fashion, Royalty, and British Identity: Fashion Exhibitions in London in the Year of the "Jubilympics"', *Fashion Theory: The Journal of Dress, Body & Culture,* 17 (2013), 467-82.
[59] Harold Tillman, 'Chairman's Letter', *British Fashion Council Annual Report 2011-2012,* (2012), <http://www.britishfashioncouncil.co.uk/uploads/media/290/31007.pdf>. [accessed. 29.11.2013].
[60] *Diamond Jubilee Debate*, House of Commons (BBC Parliament, 07.03.2012).

witnessed in the 'Jubilympic' scene described above, 'Olympic London' is an imaginary place where real people can coexist with fantasy figures. This inclusivity is in part facilitated by the definition of 'Olympic London' as 'cosmopolitan'. In addition to its geographic emission of boundaries, the cosmopolitan city is also here presented as dissolving the boundaries between reality and fantasy, fact and fiction. These tales of the host city as a cosmopolitan place are told through a language of the imagination, also the language of fairy tales. Like cosmopolitanism, 'The "truth" of fairy stories is the truth of our imagination, not that of normal causality'.[61] In the Opening Ceremony, 'Olympic London' combines cosmopolitanism with fairy tale, playing host to a range of characters from children's fiction. At this point, the Olympic narrative of London loses any illusion of reality, as it is drawn into a narrative of fantasy.

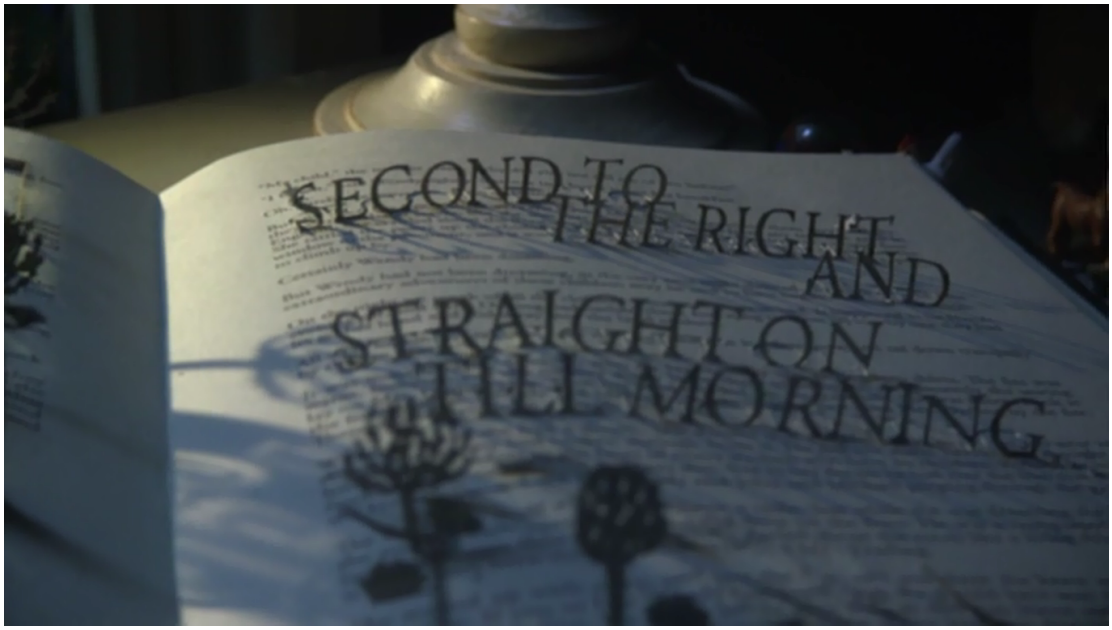

Figure 27: Second to the Right, *London Olympic Games Opening Ceremony 2012*, dir. by Danny Boyle (BBC, 2012).

[61] Bettelheim, p. 117.

The sequence begins with pre-recorded visuals of an open storybook, on which pop up letters spell the words 'second to the right and straight on till morning'.[62] This sequence continues to demonstrate the iconic status that has befallen the words, characters, and images of children's fantasy fiction. In the background we can hear the instrumental to the lullaby 'rock-a-bye baby', sounding as though it is playing on a children's music box. This sequence opening sets the scene for a child's bedtime story before they go to sleep and enter 'the land of dreams'.[63] It has been created to honour 'two of Britain's greatest achievements, the rich body of children's literature, and the National Health Service'.[64] Present day NHS employees dressed in fifties hospital uniforms push fifties style beds on to the stage. These mid-century references allude to the early years when the NHS was first established, between 1948 and 1959.[65] They also form part of the traditions discussed throughout this thesis, for promoting contemporary national images through nostalgic stories of Britain's post-war past.

The stage is dark, with blue lights giving the impression of night-time. Referring back to the letters in the open storybook beginning 'second star to the right', the commentary continues, 'they were the directions Peter gave Wendy to Neverland in J. M. Barrie's children's novel Peter Pan. And of course J. M. Barrie bequeathed all the royalties from that book to Great Ormand Street

---

[62] *London Olympic Games Opening Ceremony 2012*.
[63] Ibid.
[64] Ibid.
[65] NHS, 'The History of the NHS in England', http://www.nhs.uk/NHSEngland/thenhs/nhshistory/Pages/NHShistory1948.aspx> [accessed 28.11.2014].

hospital'.[66] Introducing a children's hospital alongside British literature and the heritage of the NHS, the Olympic Opening Ceremony is promoting images of Britain's publically funded services, British creativity, and British trade through an evocative tale of childhood make-believe, and fantasy fiction. On stage, children sit on hospital beds, each with a nurse sitting beside them looking at an open book, as though reading a story. The lights on the stage take the new shape of a crescent moon in a blue, night sky. A girl is seen reading a book under her duvet with a torch. The commentary describes this moment as a transition 'quietly into the land of dreams and into the glories and the magic of children's literature'. Storytelling is explicitly associated with dreaming, and the transition from reality into a fantasy world.

J. K. Rowling, British author of the international *Harry Potter* franchise, opens the next scene of the children's literature performance by reading an extract from Barrie's *Peter Pan*. When Rowling has finished reading, the commentator introduces her as, 'arguably the most successful writer of British history having sold 400 million books worldwide'.[67] The 'land of dreams' continues to be connected with British cultural export. This is extended through the presentation of characters from some of Britain's most famous children's stories. Baddies including the child catcher from *Chitty Chitty Bang Bang*,[68] Hook from *Peter Pan* and *Hook*,[69] Voldemort from *Harry Potter*,[70] and Cruella

[66] *London Olympic Games Opening Ceremony 2012*.
[67] Ibid.
[68] *Chitty Chitty Bang Bang*, dir. by Ken Hughes (United Artists, 1968).
[69] *Peter Pan*; *Hook*, dir. by Steven Spielberg (TriStar Pictures, 1991).
[70] *Harry Potter*.

De Ville from *101 Dalmations* surround the stage,[71] dancing around the children's beds. As the narrator explains, 'going to hospital can be quite scary for kids'.[72] Representing the care and reassurance provided to children by the NHS, a large number of women dressed as the character of children's magical nanny Mary Poppins fly down onto the stage to 'save the day'.[73] In this Olympic sequence, childhood literature is acknowledged as a tool through which to access hope and possibility, as well as a means of infantilising the audience. In the entwined theme of cultural export, the fantasy narratives of happy endings are also credited as having positive implications to British economy, like the use of fairy tale stories of transformation to promote national fashion export throughout the preceding chapters of this thesis.

The 'Fashion Olympics'

BBC broadcasts of the London 2012 Olympic Games Opening and Closing Ceremonies present a constructed media fashion narrative through live coverage, in the same way as the 2011 royal wedding (Chapter 5). The British Fashion Council (BFC) Annual Report 2011-2012 sets out the BFC's plans to capitalise on the event's global media platform. It strategises a 'growing international profile' as a 'key objective for the year',[74] and introduces two key events, intended to deliver on this remit. The first of these events, 'Fashion 2012' was 'the official fashion industry activity', designed to 'provide a core focus for the industry and a schedule for the major fashion events and activities throughout

[71] *101 Dalmations*, dir. by Hamilton Luske, Clyde Geronimi, and Wolfgang Reitherman (Walt Disney, 1961).
[72] *London Olympic Games Opening Ceremony 2012*.
[73] *Mary Poppins*, dir. by Robert Stevenson (Walt Disney, 1964).
[74] Tillman, 'Chairman's Letter', [accessed: 29.11.2013].

London's Olympic Year'.[75] This activity was complemented by 'Britain Creates', a 12-week programme of events intended to showcase the UK Creative and Cultural industries as part of the London 2012 festival.[76] To highlight fashion's prominent status in the 'Britain Creates' export strategy, the schedule was announced on the 16 September 2011, at the opening of London Fashion Week by BFC chairman Harold Tillman CBE, and Mayor of London, Boris Johnson.

British fashion designer Stella McCartney designed kits for the Team GB Olympic and Paralympic athletes to wear whilst training, competing, and relaxing. As part of their remit for international growth, the BFC invited Stella McCartney to show during London Fashion Week 2012. She was also, subsequently, named Designer of the Year at the 2012 BFC British Fashion Awards. Journalism articles published in 2012 act as a key support for the linking of fashion to the Olympic sporting event. Referring to McCartney's award, Jess Cartner Morley, fashion editor for *The Guardian* remarked, 'The final gold medal for Team GB's outstanding showing at the Olympics has been awarded fashionably late'.[77] This correlation between sport and fashion unites the successes of the British Olympians, with the British fashion industry. This is continued in the title of a *Telegraph* article, 'London 2012 Olympics: the Fashion Olympics'. Written by Kate Finnigan, style director of *Stella* Magazine, the piece

[75] British Fashion Council, 'Britsh Fashion Council Annual Report 2011-2012'.
[76] Ibid.
[77] Jess Cartner-Morley, 'Stella McCartney Crowned Designer of the Year for Team GB's Olympics Kit', *The Guardian,* (28.11.2012), <http://www.guardian.co.uk/fashion/2012/nov/27/stella-mccartney-british-fashion-awards> [accessed 13.03.2013].

describes London 2012 as 'the most stylish Olympic Games ever', and propagates metaphors of sport and fashion:

> Stella McCartney, Giorgio Armani, Ralph Lauren, Prada, Hermès and Salvatore Ferragamo are designer names associated with the catwalks of Paris, Milan and New York. But later this week, these prestigious fashion brands will be competing against each other in a different arena – the Olympic one in east London.[78]

Through association with global fashion capitals, London's Olympic stadium is presented as a fashion location, the exhibition ground for an international fashion competition. As filmed events, the Opening and Closing Ceremonies are presented as special occasions. Dressed in designer outfits, the athletes march around the arena, 'like the red-carpet parade before an Academy Awards', [79] presented as celebrities through the transformative collaboration between fashion and film, tinged with the glamour of cinema stars presented to a global audience.

McCartney's Team GB designs also acknowledge a dialogue between fashion and national identity. The main design uses lines to reference the Union Jack flag. However, rather than the traditional three colours, the kit emblem is predominantly blue. McCartney justifies this choice as an attempt to make the Union Jack 'more fashionable',[80] symbolising the creation of a desirable British export brand through the promotion of British fashion. Andrew Groves, fashion design course leader at the University of Westminster, attributes McCartney's

---

[78] Kate Finnigan, 'London 2012 Olympics: the Fashion Olympics', *The Telegraph,* (22.07.2012), <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/sport/olympics/9417168/London-2012-Olympics-the-fashion-Olympics.html> [accessed 22.07.2012].
[79] Ibid.
[80] Stella McCartney in Jane Mower and Claire Heald, 'Team GB 2012 Olympic Kit Revealed', *BBC News UK,* (22.03.2012), <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-17457729> [accessed 13.03.1013].

design decision to a longstanding British fashion trend for re-styling and popularising the British flag.

> The beauty of the union flag is that it gets reinterpreted every generation. From the Mods in the 1960s to Geri Halliwell in the '90s Britpop era and to Alexander McQueen's torn and tattered fin de siècle tailcoat for David Bowie. By deconstructing the union flag and using this as a motif for the construction and design of the Team GB kit, Stella has reinvigorated it for the 21st Century and made it have a fashionable dynamism that is both relevant and modern as contemporary sportswear.[81]

Through fashion design, the 2012 London Olympics provides an opportunity for historical identification with notions of British identity, to create a contemporary identification with British export. National heritage promotes current fashion. The colour modified Union Jack flag displayed across the bodies of the Team GB athletes acts as a recognisable symbol of the national fashion industry.

The explicit promotion of the British fashion industry can be seen most clearly in the 2012 Olympic Closing Ceremony, which continues the Opening Ceremony's drive for cultural export. Signaling the end of the 2012 Olympic Games, the Closing Ceremony also presents the media's final opportunity to exploit the promotional potential of the international media platform, evidenced in a sequence dedicated to the British fashion industry. This section opens playing homage to British fashion and music personality David Bowie, presenting images from his career alongside a selection of his music.

[81] Andrew Groves in Mower and Heald.

Figure 28: David Bowie, *London Olympic Games Closing Ceremony 2012*, dir. by Kim Gavin (BBC, 2012).

The montage begins at the beginning of Bowie's career, moving forward to the present day. Opening with recognisable archival images of a British icon and moving chronologically through time, the sequence is writing a partial history of British fashion through key moments in Bowie's career, defined by his changing physical and musical styles. Fashion is written into a story of British history, whilst national fashion and music heritage is simultaneously written into images of the contemporary fashion industry. As in Pathé's *From Eve To Everywoman! A Cavalcade of Fashion,* and the *COI's Sixty Years of Fashion* made respectively between seventy and fifty years earlier (Chapters 3 and 4), this fashion sequence begins with a story of British fashion history, to legitimise and popularise a current industry. As an audience, we recognise these visual and audio references owing to their frequent media propagation since Bowie's rise to fame in the late sixties. Presented in quick succession, these sights and sounds act as stimuli to conjure wider images of British fashion and music cultures throughout the last

six decades. It is not necessary for a narration to explain these references, owing to the acknowledged process of 'spectator memory', explained in Chapter 5.[82] The montage ends with the Bowie single 'Fashion', which runs throughout the rest of the fashion sequence.[83]

As the final image of David Bowie fades away, lorries are pulled on to the stage, each with the image of a British supermodel covering the side. As the lorries parade around the stage, the narrator lists the names of British fashion designers, 'Burberry […], Jonathan Saunders, Paul Smith, Victoria Beckham'.[84] The sides of the lorries are then pulled down, to reveal the supermodels behind. The narration names the most famous models, to secure the impact of the scene on the audience, and to benefit spectators who are less familiar with the industry names. 'Kate Moss, Naomi Campbell, we have a mashed up symphony here paying homage to the British fashion industry and its contribution over the years'.[85] The promotion of the British fashion industry here is explicit.

Throughout the Olympic Closing Ceremony, the stage is designed around a model of London's skyline. The floor of the stage is presented as a giant Union Jack. This image represents the ceremonies' promotion of Britain that is based on the icons of its capital city. British national identity is focused, in this set design, as in the films of Chapters 3, 4, and 5, on the image of London. In the fashion section described above, the Union Jack is illuminated to appear bright pink. This further alludes to Stella McCartney's aforementioned attempts to re-fashion

[82] Altman, p. 191.
[83] 'Fashion'.
[84] *London Olympic Games Closing Ceremony 2012*, dir. by Kim Gavin (BBC, 2012).
[85] Ibid.

the traditional flag, and revive national image. On close inspection, this Union Jack is made up from pieces of newspaper, the type just visible from certain angles. In this sense, the Olympic Union Jack presents an orchestrated image of national fashion identity constructed through British media. The sequence culminates in the models each walking down one of the lines of the Union Jack to meet in the middle. Fashion is literally moving to the centre, and claiming ownership of, the national flag. Fashion is here presented as a central element of Britain's media constructed image, incorporated into the political, historic, patriotic and economic significance of the national flag, the official symbol of British identity.

Figure 29: Union Jack, *London Olympic Games Closing Ceremony 2012*, dir. by Kim Gavin (BBC, 2012).

Integrated Narratives

The blend of 'real' and fantasy in the Olympic story of Britain's capital demonstrates the significant role literature and storytelling play in international presentations of London. In the middle of the Opening Ceremony, two performers acting as modern day teenagers on a typical Saturday night out, walk towards one another. At the same time, film clips are projected onto the external walls of a house, placed centre stage. As the performing teenagers kiss, Hugh Grant's character declares 'I think I love you' in a projected clip from *Four Weddings and a Funeral*.[86] This begins a montage of film kisses, including *Shrek* (a modern day fairy tale),[87] immediately followed by the 2011 royal wedding balcony kiss between William and Kate, staged as a fairy tale ending, as discussed in Chapter 5.[88] Both these clips also allude to a transformation of marital status, alongside an additional transformation of identity. In *Shrek,* Princess Fiona transforms into an ogre. In the royal wedding, Kate transforms into a princess. Against this display of fantasy romance and magical transformation, the social media status of the teenage girl appears in a text box, and changes to 'in a relationship'.[89] As well as tales of fairy tale romance, the Olympic ceremonies present 'accessible' narratives of transformation. Ordinary members of the public are transformed into television stars by inclusion in the ceremony, and the adoption of a costume. Volunteers share the same stage, and story, as James Bond, and the Queen.

---

[86] *Four Weddings and a Funeral*, dir. by Mike Newell (PolyGram Filmed Entertainment, Channel Four Films and Working Title Films, 1994).
[87] *Shrek*.
[88] *The Royal Wedding: HRH Prince William & Catherine Middleton 29th April 2011* (BBC 2011).
[89] *London Olympic Games Opening Ceremony 2012*.

The Olympic Games Opening and Closing Ceremonies are non-fiction public broadcasts that mix fact and fiction, news and entertainment, to present an image of London that is both past and present, 'real' and performed. Individual city images from Chapters 3, 4, and 5, of wartime London, 'Swinging London', and 'Royal London', are each incorporated as elements in the overarching representation of 'Olympic London', a cosmopolitan 'host', and global fashion capital. The Olympic ceremonies present each of these periods in British history as elements of contemporary national storytelling. The presented relationship between the Olympic Games and the Queen's Diamond Jubilee, which occurred in the same year, also showcases London 2012, a moment of national significance, through a discussion of British royalty, as seen in previous instances including the Second World War, and the 'Swinging Sixties', described in Chapters 3 and 4.

The Opening and Closing Ceremonies also bring together the familiar icons of Britishness that have been associated with fashion as cultural export throughout the preceding chapters, including the London skyline, the Union Jack, sixties dresses, and the royal family, placed in a projected global context of cosmopolitan storytelling. Fashion continues to be privileged as a British industry, with the story of transformation acting as a paradigm for consumerism. In many ways, the Olympic story also continues to be aimed at women, through its association with childhood, and references to the paternal reassurance of Mary Poppins and NHS nurses. There is a combined nostalgia here, for a nation that is associated with infancy, as it undergoes a series of marked transitions that

represent hope for a bright future. Significantly, it is also in childhood that one is introduced to ideologies that have a potential to activate for the rest of one's life.

If the UK is in danger of becoming one vast museum as Robert Hewison suggests, does this coverage suggest that women are destined to spend an eternity as mannequins dressed in national ideology, and that society is going to remain trapped by the conventions and clichés of the fairy tale romance? If culture has lost all potential for creativity and originality, is the female population destined to continue repeating the same national tales of femininity on an eternal cycle that follows, or dictates the trends of the fashion system? Is society destined to question, each season, which vintage notion of womanhood is currently in vogue? In Olympic coverage women are presented as part of the heritage industry, with contemporary women compared with the Suffragettes, wartime women, fifties nurses, sixties teenagers, and the Queen, in the breaking down of temporal boundaries, and the merging of British symbolism. At the same time, women are associated with the fantasy figures of Mary Poppins, and Wendy from Peter Pan. One could argue that the women presented in this coverage are portrayed as 'fantasies of a world that never was', clichés of womanhood, as well as of national identity. Following notions of cosmopolitanism defined by a Western perspective, femininity defined by a masculine perspective has been a resounding theme of this thesis. It is possible to conclude, that in a media culture determined to perpetuate traditional notions of gender distinction, the only true way to achieve gender equality is, like global equality, through the imagination. However, there is also a parallel gender narrative running throughout this

footage, which merges more with presented aspirations of cosmopolitanism, than of national identity.

As global dialogues, coverage of the 2012 Olympic Games Opening and Closing Ceremonies are addressed to both men, and women, with tales of togetherness celebrating notions of 'global citizenship', as opposed to 'global womanhood', the 'everyman' as opposed to the 'everywoman'. Both male and female athletes are wearing uniforms in this coverage, but here there is no gendered distinction as in the wartime uniforms of Chapter 3. In previous chapters, women are still recognised as women at the same time as they are recognised as British. In this chapter, Olympic athletes are presented as cosmopolitan citizens, depicting images of increased gender mobility, alongside the celebrations of increased mobility between national geographical and political borders. The 'mobile woman' is here presented as a contradiction; both a cosmopolitan, and a national subject. The focus in this chapter is therefore more on the 'mobile citizen', than the 'mobile woman'.

The explicit use of 'cosmopolitan' ideas in British storytelling illustrates the perceived export appeal of cosmopolitanism as having real economic value. However, shown through the devices of theatrical representation and storytelling, cosmopolitanism is here presented as a constructed image. The contradiction between cosmopolitan values and neoliberal competition acknowledged by Massey, Yeoh and Lin is outlined in Chapter 1, and returned to at the beginning of this chapter. It is described by Sassatelli as the 'cultural institutionalization of the nation-state', which simultaneously lays 'claim to a universalistic culture for

the purposes of foreign relations and cultural diplomacy'.[90] As a tool through which the nation-state can attempt to institutionalise culture whilst simultaneously narrating a story of world citizenship, cosmopolitanism is presented as a simple tale, akin to the reductive storytelling of fairy tale, in which 'things are either all light or all darkness'.[91] Ignoring its own complexities, the narrative of cosmopolitanism presented in the Olympic ceremonies is unsustainable in the context of real political and economic structures.

The texts studied in this thesis demonstrate the state's sustained interest in the British fashion industry since the beginning of the twentieth-century, as fashion promotion continues to occur in different state-supported non-fiction media forms. In these instances, media texts provide a platform for investigating the visual medium of fashion as a cultural, political, and economic industry. Despite fashion often being held up as a subject for ridicule and criticism in intellectual circles, the reality of fashion's function as a commodity presents a flagrant opportunity for creating, disseminating, and communicating ideological messages, be that of make do and mend, pushing boundaries, or believing in a fairy tale about yourself, and the city you live in. As demonstrated throughout the non-fiction British fashion film genre, fashion is presented as a mysterious industry that asks us to believe in magic, and yet, in practical terms, is part of a straightforward business structure, rooted in an industrial reality.

---

[90] Monica Sassatelli, 'Festivals, Museums, Exhibitions: Aesthetic Cosmopolitanism in the Cultural Public Sphere', in *Routledge Handbook of Cosmopolitanism Studies,* ed. by Gerard Delanty, pp. 233-44 (p. 238).
[91] Bettelheim, p. 74.

Conclusion

In her book *Fashion and Cultural Studies*, Susan B. Kaiser writes, 'Nations, like fashions, are made, not born'.[1] Each is a cultural creation. Fashion can be physically constructed through the assembling of garments. It can also be symbolically constructed as an image. In the same way, 'nation' is a term that can be used in reference to a geographical set of physical borders, whilst also operating as a symbolic cultural image representing a set of ideological, cultural, social, economic, and political values. Operating symbolically at the level of fiction, each requires imagination, created and recreated in a process of subject formation. According to Kaiser, the creation of both nations and fashions also require a set of power relations. To be 'made', the symbolic images of fashion and nation are, necessarily, the product of one, or many, creative agents, each with their own objectives. For the texts analysed in this thesis, the image is created by state-governed institutions, and mediated to fit a state agenda.

According to Jim McGuigan, the discursive shift from state to market in public sector discourse of the post-war period has led to a 'persistence of state intervention in the cultural field, and political subsidy for "the arts"'. [2] A focus on market reasoning in the rhetoric of the nation-state has increasingly politicised culture over the last eight decades, leading to a normalised commercial discourse in which 'We are all being sold something all the time'.[3] McGuigan here identifies a relationship between public arts patronage and public service

---

[1] Susan B. Kaiser, *Fashion and Cultural Studies* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2012), p. 52.
[2] McGuigan, p. 52.
[3] Ibid., p. 69.

broadcasting, as industries that share institutional and ideological agendas. However, McGuigan also argues that, despite an increasing commercialisation of cultural narratives, the state and the market remain distinct because of the difference in their fundamental objectives. As he writes, for the 'free market', 'profitability is the fundamental and, when the chips are down, only goal', a clear objective that cannot be applied so easily to public discourse. [4]

Through interrogating a selection of informational state-supported fashion media texts made over the last eight decades, this thesis argues that there is a national objective behind their construction that goes beyond the purely economic. As tools of instructional communication these texts have an ideological function, frequently designed to employ institutionally grounded doctrines to mobilise a nation of female viewers to meet the aims of a state agenda. In these texts, fashion and nation are each made in the other's image: the image of Britain is defined by a fashion narrative, which, in turn, is defined by an image of Britain. Both images are defined historically, ideologically placed to represent and legitimise a story of national heritage. Discussing the 'present system of state intervention and public subsidy of culture in Britain', McGuigan points towards the Department of National Heritage, a 'generic ministry of culture' created as recently as 1992.[5] Heritage and culture are entangled in contemporary political discourse, a notion supported by the discussion of history, gender, economy and ideology in this thesis. As an official heritage narrative, the tale perpetuated throughout this media genre is enforced in a pragmatic way, not as one image of Britain and its fashion industry, but as the *only* image of Britain

[4] Ibid., p. 68.
[5] Ibid., p. 54.

and its fashion industry; a long perpetuated discourse so powerfully normalised that it is 'virtually impossible to think outside' of it.[6] However, this narrative is not solely grounded in fact. Circulating in a 'contemporary economy as part of a network of signs', this tale of Britain's fashion heritage is a trick of the light, a fairy tale.[7] Like the documents discovered in an archival reading room, this representation of history cannot be relied upon. Caroline Evans describes the fashion image as a referential, historically themed 'bearer of ideas as well as socially constructed object'. [8] Despite being attached to specific moments in the national past, this image of Britain's fashion heritage is only a story, a dream of how things may have been, a fantasy formulated, disseminated, and hence granted a dangerous perception of legitimacy by state-supported institutions such as the Central Office of Information.

Identifying the power of the screen to manipulate a viewer's perspective by visualising a constructed cultural image, Friedberg describes the cinema and the television set as framing devices for ideological messages. She writes:

> We know the world by what we see: through a window, in a frame, on a screen. As we spend more of our time staring into the frames of movies, television, computers, hand-held displays – "windows" full of moving images, text, icons, and 3-D graphics – how the world is framed may be as important as what is contained within that frame.[9]

---

[6] Ibid., 62.
[7] Caroline Evans, 'Yesterday's Emblems and Tomorrow's Commodities: The Return of the Repressed in Fashion Imagery Today', in *Fashion Cultures Revisited*, pp. 77-102, (p. 85).
[8] Ibid., p. 88.
[9] Anne Friedberg, *The Virtual Window: From Alberti to Microsoft* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2006), p. 1.

The potency of the screen's image lies in its presentation of a '*received* perception mediated through representation'. [10] Each text examined in this thesis shares the potential to mediate their audience's vision and interpretation of the world around them. Friedberg describes cinema and television as electronic and mechanical mediums imbued with a capacity to 'transform our access to history and memory': dual, moving image apparatuses that combine 'the mobile' with 'the virtual' and effect 'concepts of the *present* and the *real*' in an unprecedented way. [11] The filmic visualisation of a moving past has an 'inherent capacity to alter the spectator's relation to temporality', so that historical images are imbued with a contemporary perspective, whilst simultaneously influencing an interpretation of the present in relation to the past.[12] In this analysis we can read the narrating of the global economic crises in 2008 through the symbolic perspective of forties austerity, and the inclusion of the industrial revolution in a celebrated image of London 2012. In the Olympics Closing Ceremony, fashion turns a political heritage narrative into a spectacle: it spectacularises national history. Friedberg writes, 'In the pure metaphysics of cinema spectatorship, the past is unhinged from its foundations and becomes a component of the present'.[13] In its intertextual, self-perpetuating 'jumbled relation to the historical referent', every film or television broadcast facilitates a 'temporal mobility for the spectator as a "time-tourist"', and can, according to Friedberg, be approached through a postmodern lens as a nostalgia film.[14]

---

[10] Anne Friedberg, *Window Shopping: Cinema and the Postmodern* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 1993), p. 2. Emphasis as in original.
[11] Friedberg, *Window Shopping*, pp. 2-3. Emphasis as in original.
[12] Ibid., p. 168.
[13] Ibid., p. 185.
[14] Ibid., p. 168.

The ideological state address at the heart of these national heritage fashion fairy tales is predominantly aimed at women; it is a didactic instructional address employed to influence, and guide the aspirations and fantasies of female viewers. Though the promoted image of the aspirational British woman changes with shifting social, cultural, and political circumstances, the framing of fashion and transformation as a desirable trajectory secures continuity across time and crisis. Discussing the role of the housewife in women's magazines, Forster writes,

> Sometimes it seems that the breadth of womanhood has been distilled to the imagined identity and the role of housewife on their pages […] a role oscillating between careful budgeting and aspirational living, hard work and leisured appearances, as well as intelligent capacity and yet a need for advice.[15]

Throughout the four case studies set out in this thesis, the woman who is addressed gradually appears to move away from that of the housewife presented in Chapter 3. In Chapter 4 the address shifts in its appeal to teenage girls negotiating an urban landscape in financial and personal terms through a state-approved engagement with fashion. In Chapter 5, the charting of royal wedding coverage shows how it is designed to appeal to the desires of young, single girls and women who dream of one day owning a wedding dress (and prince) of their own. Forming the most significant departure from individual female viewers addressed in the preceding three case studies, Chapter 6 addresses women as part of an inclusive, multi-cultural audience aimed at both men and women, as here gender is less of a concern than that of cosmopolitanism. However, although the address of Olympic media broadcasts does not explicitly direct its attention

[15] Forster, pp. 17 and 23.

towards female viewers, the content of its narrative adopts the same aspirational fairy tale fashion narratives as the previous three case studies. The story of Britain's heritage perpetuated through the 'Isles of Wonder' sequence and continued through the rest of the footage addresses a by now familiar list of traditionally feminine concerns: touchstones of transformation in a history of British female identity in state-supported media on screen. Britain's image and its heritage are narrated through a fiction of fantasy and fairy tale, legitimised through its connection with the royal family. The history of women's role in British, national life is represented by the same traditional fashion narrative as presented in Chapters 3, 4, and 5, moving between war-time, post-war, and 'Swinging Sixties' identities, touchstones in female identity symbolised through period costume.

This coverage of the 2012 Olympic Games was constructed as part of a revival in BBC broadcasting of material celebrating traditional female occupations. *The Great British Bake Off* , first aired in 2010, has become a national phenomenon, a programme that kneads baking into the national image. This is not a series that showcases professional baking talents, but one that celebrates the amateur baker, the 'everyman' who bakes at home. Presented as a competition, this programme follows a two-fold aspirational narrative; it shows everyday people working hard to achieve transformative goals, and sells the idea to a national audience that if the people on screen can achieve such ends, then they can too. Presented as entertainment, this programme celebrates domestic skills and encourages viewers to emulate them with helpful advice. The format has developed from the blatant instructional tone of wartime *Make Do and Mend*

material, avoiding the command in capital letters across the screen to 'BAKE AT HOME'. However, it is an informational media form that operates within an aspirational trajectory. Functioning within a contemporary context of less traditional gender binaries, the contestants on this programme are men and women. However, the show is still celebrating, and privileging an occupation of traditional, female domesticity, and encouraging its return. In 2013, *The Great British Sewing Bee* contributed to this nostalgic media campaign, following the same format as *The Great British Bake Off*, only with the alternative celebration of the domestic home sewer.[16] Each week the competition is structured into three challenges, one of which is 'the alteration challenge', where the contestants are tasked with transforming an existing outfit into a new garment. In the book to accompany the first series of the show, is a page entitled 'The Queen Mother's Sewing Bees', which tells a story of wartime 'Stitch for Victory' campaigns, which inspired the television series.[17] In an unstable economic era following The Great Recession of 2008, media narratives of austerity Britain are combined with informational television programmes exploiting an image of the royal family to encourage viewers to recycle their old clothes; to make do and mend. These media texts not only work to frame an economic situation through a nostalgic image of the past, they also construct a contemporary national image defined by post-war gendered identities; Great Britain is defined by an image of the post-war housewife.

In her discussion of women's media, Laurel Forster describes the figure of the housewife as a 'channel for aspirations and needs subsequently identified

[16] *The Great British Sewing Bee*.
[17] Tessa Evelegh, *The Great British Sewing Bee* (London: Quadrille Publishing, 2013), p. 10.

and fulfilled by advertiser's products', a didactic formula designed to simplify 'the conundrum of how to live a successful life as a woman'.[18] The term 'housewife' implies that this formula involves getting married and looking after the home. Each text examined in this thesis speaks to this notion of the housewife represented in the gendered address of consumer advertising, the format of didactic, instructional advice, and the simplification of women's role in national life. Each group of texts communicates these messages in a different way, the most emphatic case being the tales of wartime wives discussed in Chapter 3. However, the independent urban city dweller of Chapter 4 is still addressed as a woman who fantasises about domestic design objects and modern interior design, whilst fashioning a bobbed hair style and wearing a short tunic. In Chapter 5, the object of aspiration, the white wedding dress, symbolises a woman's transformation into the role of wife in patriarchal culture, allowing her to enter domestic partnership. It also symbolises woman's transformation into princess, even if only for a day. In Chapter 6, each variant image of the national housewife is addressed and stitched together into a contemporary tale of British identity.

According to Forster, the unstable conditions that instigated the initial image of the post-war housewife render it a unique, and appropriate formula through which to engage with women in shifting social, cultural, economic, and political environments. She writes, 'an engagement with change in the period before and during the Second World War, permitt[ed] the housewife to be

[18] Forster, p. 17.

understood as an ambiguous figure inhabiting diverse and modern identities'.[19] As this thesis demonstrates, this object of ideological state address is reincarnated in a variety of forms appropriate to the environment, facilitating a 'layered, malleable and variable interpretation of the formulaic address' that adapts over time to remain relevant to women's circumstances.[20] In the same way as the fairy tale remains constantly grounded to the image of domestic femininity, so this genre of informational media texts is grounded to a notion of post-war womanhood, constantly referenced in a cyclical narrative of nostalgia and national heritage. Like the archive or the museum, these media texts create and preserve an institutional national image, built and sustained on an ideological address to a fantasy nation of 'mechanical' uniformed women, marching to the tune of patriarchal subservience and political submission. As officially constructed fantasy figures imagined, and represented by the state, the women in these texts are not free, neither are they active, individual agents. They are created, and controlled elements of a national communication strategy. As part of an economic export campaign, women are also, in this narrative, identified as part of a commercial discourse exploited in the promotion of national heritage.

I return here to Robert Hewison's dystopian image of the United Kingdom as 'one vast museum'.[21] He writes, 'individually, museums are fine institutions, dedicated to the high values of preservation, education and truth; collectively, their growth in numbers points to the imaginative death of this country'.[22] For the texts discussed in this thesis, it is their collective narrative that

[19] Ibid., p. 18.
[20] Ibid.
[21] Hewison, p. 9.
[22] Ibid.

points to a death of originality in media depictions of a national fashion history and women's roles within it. Viewed together, these texts, like museums and archives, 'present a picture of a country obsessed with its past',[23] a concerning observation considering their ability to 'help form the culture which they are assumed merely to reflect'.[24] The history written through these texts and traced through this thesis is an official history, issued by state-governed institutions. But what might an alternative history look like?

Opening an avenue for further research is the question of whether there exists a parallel history mediated through screen media - an independent, female constructed history of the national fashion past and women's role within it. Considering the texts studied here, I argue that they fail to offer encouragement in feminist terms. The prevailing agenda of these texts is not feminist, it is national. If this national agenda at times reflects developing feminist agendas specific to changing social and cultural contexts, this is always a secondary concern. Coverage of the 2012 London Olympic Games provides reference to the Suffragette movement. However, by including women dressed as Suffragettes in the 'Isles of Wonder' sequence, this footage miniaturizes their movement, safely located in history, as part of a national heritage. It is framed, not as a feminist achievement, but as a national triumph. There is never any reference in these texts to the more recent Women's Liberation Movement, which occurred during the same eight-decade time frame. Forster writes, 'Feminists, whilst frequently critical of the patriarchal dominance of the media industry processes and outputs, have always understood the media's power to promote (or ignore) the cause of

[23] Ibid.
[24] Ibid.

women'.[25] In the case of the non-fiction British fashion film, these texts manipulate an image of British women by celebrating certain moments of their experience (that fit the patriarchy), and excluding others. Forster writes of feminist media as building 'confidence and involvement' that allows women to 'name themselves, and to advance the cause'.[26] Although women are addressed in these texts, they are not entering or dictating the discourse. Rather than writing their own history, women are being sold a history that has been written for them. But what would an alternative fashion history of this eight-decade period, presented on screen, look like? A tale of women's politicised media, a narrative of individual, rather than collective experiences, of independent as opposed to official construction? To address this history, or perhaps more likely this fragment of histories alongside the official narrative promoted here, would, I argue, provide further evidence for the fantasy of this 'informational' narrative, another version of history. Hewison writes, 'Hypnotised by images of the past, we risk losing all capacity for creative change'.[27] However, in a culture so inherently defined by a notion of history and heritage, new images of the past need to be uncovered and seen in order to more accurately reflect women's experience, and its potential to inform their present and their future.

[25] Forster, p. 223.
[26] Ibid., p. 208.
[27] Hewison, p. 9.

Bibliography

Allen, Graham, *Intertextuality*, second edn. (Abingdon; Oxon; New York: Routledge, 2011) [first published in 2000]

Allen, Robert C. 'Introduction: Talking About Television', in *Channels of Discourse: Television and Contemporary Criticism*, ed. by Robert C. Allen (London: Routledge, 1987), pp. 1-16

Altman, Rick, *Film/Genre* (London: British Film Institute, 1999)

Anderson, Benedict, *Imagined Communities*, (London; New York: Verso, 1983)

Anonymous, 'Unauthored letter', in *BFI Special Collections, Basil Wright*, BCW /5/1/2 (1945)

———'Untitled Newsletter', in *BFI Special Collections, Basil Wright*, BCW/5/1/2 (1941)

——— '"What is Public Opinion" rough copy', in *Mass Observation Archive, Propaganda and Morale*, Box 1, Folder 1/B (19.08.1940)

Arch, Nigel, and Joanna Marschner, *Royal Wedding Dresses* (London: Historical Royal Palaces, 2011)

Arthurs, Deborah, 'Bea and Eugenie Strike Again! The Princesses Top the Fashion Flops Yet Again in Outlandish Outfits', *Mail Online* (01.05.2011) <http://www.dailymail.co.uk/femail/article-1382443/Royal-wedding-2011-Princess- Beatrice-Eugenies-outlandish-outfits.html> [accessed 05.06.2015]

Bartlett, Djurdja, Shaun Cole, and Agnès Rocamora, ed. *Fashion Media: Past and Present* (London; New Delhi; New York; Sydney: Bloomsbury, 2013)

Baudrillard, Jean, 'Extract from "The Orders of Simulacra" in "Simulations"', trans. by P. Beitchman [first published in French in 1981] in *Modern Literary Theory* fourth edn. ed. by Philip Rice and Patricia Waugh (New York: Hodder

Arnold, 2001) [first published in 1989], pp. 338-40

BBC, 'The People's Games: London 2012', (2012) <http://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/p00x8gpc> [accessed 19.12.2014]

———, '1951: King George opens Festival of Britain', in *On This Day 1950-2005*, <http://news.bbc.co.uk/onthisday/hi/dates/stories/may/3/newsid_2481000/2481099.stm> [accessed 02.02.2015]

Beck, Ulrich, *The Cosmopolitan Vision* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2006), trans. by. Ciaran Cronin, [first published in German in 2004]

Behlen, Beatrice, and Joanna Marschner, *Diana: Fashion & Style* (Hampshire: Jarold Publishing in Association with Historic Royal Palaces, 2007)

Bennett, Andrew, and Nicholas Royle, *Introduction to Literature, Criticism and Theory*, third edn. (Harlow: Pearson Education Limited, 2004) [first published in 1995]

Bettelheim, Bruno, *The Uses of Enchantment: The Meaning and Importance of Fairytales* (London: Penguin, 1991) [first published in 1975]

Beyfus, Drusilla, 'Royal Wedding Dresses', in *The Royal Wedding Official Souvenir and Programme* (London: The Royal Jubilee Trusts, 1981), pp. 17-19

BFI, 'BFI Collection Policy', (2011) <http://www.bfi.org.uk/sites/bfi.org.uk/files/downloads/bfi-collection-policy-2014-07-02.pdf> [accessed 17.12.2014]

———, 'Brit Chic: Fashion on Film 1946 – 1989' Screening Programme, (London: BFI, 2009)

——— 'Disc 2: Fashion', in *The COI Collection Volume Two: Design for Today* DVD booklet, ed. by BFI (London: BFI, 2010), p. 3

Blue, Morgan Genevieve, 'D-Signed for Girls: Disney Channel and Tween Fashion', *Film, Fashion and Consumption*, 1, 2 (2013), 55-75

Breward, Christopher, 'Boutiques and Beyond: The Rise of British Fashion', in *British Design from 1948: Innovation in the Modern Age*, ed. by Christopher Breward and Ghislaine Wood (London: V&A Publishing, 2012), pp. 202-19

Breward, Christopher, and Ghislaine Wood, 'In the Service of the State: Change and Continuity in Design', in *British Design from 1948: Innovation in the Modern Age*, ed. by Christopher Breward and Ghislaine Wood (London: V&A Publishing, 2012), pp. 40–67

———, 'Introduction: British Design from 1948: Innovation in the Modern Age', in *British Design from 1948: Innovation in the Modern Age*, ed. by Christopher Breward and Ghislaine Wood (London: V&A Publishing, 2012), pp. 12-27

———, 'Subversion 1955-97', *in British Design from 1948: Innovation in the Modern Age*, ed. by Christopher Breward and Ghislaine Wood (London: V&A Publishing, 2012), pp. 144-55

———, 'Tradition and Modernity 1945-79', in *British Design from 1948: Innovation in the Modern Age*, ed. by Christopher Breward and Ghislaine Wood (London: V&A Publishing, 2012), pp. 30-39

Brown, Judith, *Glamour in Six Dimensions: Modernism and the Radiance of Form* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2009)

Brown, Susanna, *Queen Elizabeth II: Portraits by Cecile Beaton* (London: V&A Publishing, 2011)

Brunsdon, Charlotte, 'Lifestyling Britain: The 8-9 Slot on British Television', in *Television after TV: Essays on a Medium in Transition*, ed. by Lynn Spigel

and Jan Olsson, (Durham; London: Duke University Press, 2004), pp. 75-92

———, *London in Cinema: The Cinematic City Since 1945* (London: British Film Institute, 2007)

Bruzzi, Stella, *Undressing Cinema: Clothing and Identity in the Movies* (London: Routledge, 1997)

Buchanan, Andrew, *Going to the Cinema*, second revised edn. (London: Phoenix House Limited, 1951) [first published in 1947]

Butler, L.J, *Britain and Empire: Adjusting to a Post-Imperial World* (London: I.B.Taurus, 2002)

Carpini, Michael X. Delli, and Bruce A. Williams, '"Fictional" and "Non-Fictional" Television Celebrates Earth Day: Or, Politics is Comedy Plus Pretense', from *Cultural Studies*, 1, 8 (1994), 74-98

Cartner-Morley, Jess, 'Stella McCartney Crowned Designer of the Year for Team GB's Olympics Kit', *The Guardian* (28.11.2012) <http://www.guardian.co.uk/fashion/2012/nov/27/stella-mccartney-british-fashion-awards> [accessed 13.03.2013]

Chakrabortty, Aditya, 'Austerity is Far More Than Just Cuts. It's About Privatising Everything We Own', *The Guardian* (2016) <https://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2016/may/24/austerity-cuts-privatising-george-osborne-britain-assets> [accessed: 22.10.2016]

Chapman, James, *The British at War: Cinema, State and Propaganda*, *1939-1945* (London: I. B. Tauris, 1998)

Cheah, Pheng, 'What is a World? On World Literature as a World-Making Activity', [first published in 2008] in *Routledge Handbook of Cosmopolitanism Studies*, ed. by Gerard Delanty (New York: Routledge, 2012), pp. 138-49

Church Gibson, Pamela, 'Editorial', *Film, Fashion and Consumption*, 1 (2012), 3-6

———, *Fashion and Celebrity Culture* (London; New York: Berg, 2012)

Clark, Sir Fife, *The Central Office of Information* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1970)

Commission, European, 'Film Heritage in the EU', (2012-2013) <http://ec.europa.eu/information_society/newsroom/image/4th_film%20heritage%2 0report%20final%20for%20transmission_6962.pdf> [accessed 17.12.2014]

Connell, Ian, Lidia Curti and Stuart Hall, 'The "Unity" of Current Affairs Television', in *Popular Television and Film*, ed. by Tony Bennett, Susan Boyd-Bowman, Colin Mercer and Janet Woollacott (Kent: BFI Publishing, 1981), pp. 88-117

Cook, Pam, *Fashioning the Nation: Costume and Identity in British Cinema* (London: British Film Institute, 1996)

Council, British Fashion, 'BFC Princess of Wales Charitable Trust', <http://www.britishfashioncouncil.co.uk/content.aspx?CategoryID=1615&ArticleID= 1383> [accessed 15.08.2013]

———, 'British Fashion Council Annual Report 2011-2012', (2012) <http://www.britishfashioncouncil.co.uk/uploads/media/290/31007.pdf> [accessed 15.08.2013]

———, 'Great British Fashion Flags', (01.05.2012) http://www.britishfashioncouncil.co.uk/news_detail.aspx?id=416 [accessed 15.08.2013]

Council, British Universities Film and Video (BUFVC) ed. 'A History of the British Cinemagazine'

<http://bufvc.ac.uk/wp- content/media/2009/06/cinemag_histw.pdf> [accessed 05.12.2011]

Courtney, Nicholas, *Diana Princess of Wales* (London: Park Lane Press, 1982)

Cousins, Mark, 'From Royal London to Celebrity Space', in *After Diana: Irreverant Edigies*, ed. by Mandy Merck (London: Verso, 1998), pp. 77-86

Cox, Geoffrey, *Pioneering Television News: A First Hand Report on a Revolution in Journalism* (Whitstable: Whitstable Litho Ltd, 1995)

Crofts, William, *Coercion or Persuasion: Propaganda in Britain after 1945* (London: Routledge, 1989)

Crosby, Emily, 'The Rise and Fall of the Sponsored Cinemagazine', in *Projecting Britain: The Guide to British Cinemagazines,* ed. by Emily Crosby, and Linda Kaye (London: BUFVC, 2008), pp. 46-56

Dahlgren, Peter, *Television and the Public Sphere*: *Citizenship, Democracy and the Media* (London: SAGE Publications, 1995)

Darling, Elizabeth, 'Exhibiting Britain: Display and National Identity 1946-1967', V&A, <http://www.vads.ac.uk/learning/designingbritain/html/bcmi_intro.html> [accessed: 29.03.12]

Davis, John, and Dr Simon Ford, 'Design Council Slide Collection: An Online Guide to the Resource', *VADS The Online Resource for Visual Arts*, <http://www.vads.ac.uk/learning/dcsc/britain.html> [accessed 29.04.2014]

ddarlingo, 'Princesses Beatrice and Eugenie Inspired by Cinderella's Ugly Step-sisters?', *The Morton Report* (12.05.2011) <http://www.themortonreport.com/celebrity/royals/princesses-beatrice-and-eugenie-inspired-by-ugly-step-sisters-from-cinderella/> [accessed: 5.06.2015]

Delanty, Gerard, 'The Emerging Field of Cosmopolitanism Studies', in *Routledge Handbook of Cosmopolitanism Studies*, ed. by Gerard Delanty (New York: Routledge, 2012), pp. 1-8

Derrida, Jacques, *Archive Fever: a Freudian Impression* (Chicago; London: University of Chicago Press, 1996), trans. by Eric Prenowitz [first published in French in 1995]

Ehrman, Edwina, 'Broken Traditions: 1930-55', in *The London Look: Fashion from Street to Catwalk*, ed. by Christopher Breward, Edwina Ehrman, and Caroline Evans (London: Yale University Press in association with the Museum of London, 2004), pp. 97-115

England, Len, 'Newsreel Report', in *Yesterday's News*: *The British Cinema Newsreel Reader*, ed. by British Universities Film and Video Council (BUFVC) (London: BUFVC, 2002) [report compiled for Mass Observation in 1940] pp. 174-87

English, Bonnie, *A Cultural History of Fashion in the 20th Century: From the Catwalk to the Sidewalk* (Oxford: Berg, 2007)

Evans, Caroline, 'Post-War Poses: 1955-75', in *The London Look: Fashion from Street to Catwalk*, ed. by Christopher Breward, Edwina Ehrman, and Caroline Evans (London: Yale University Press in association with the Museum of London, 2004), pp. 117-37

———, *The Mechanical Smile: Modernism and the First Fashion Shows in France and America 1900-1929* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2013)

———, 'Yesterday's Emblems and Tomorrow's Commodities: The Return of the Repressed in Fashion Imagery Today', in *Fashion Cultures Revisited*,

ed. by Stella Bruzzi and Pamela Church Gibson (London; New York: Routledge, 2013) [first published as *Fashion Cultures: Theories, Explorations and Analysis* in 2000] pp. 77-102

Evelegh, Tessa, *The Great British Sewing Bee* (London: Quadrille Publishing, 2013)

Finnigan, Kate, 'London 2012 Olympics: the Fashion Olympics', *The Telegraph* (22.07.2012) <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/sport/olympics/9417168/London-2012- Olympics-the-fashion-Olympics.html> [accessed: 22.07.2012]

Forster, Laurel, *Magazine Movements: Women's Culture, Feminisms and Media Form* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2015)

Foucault, Michel, *The Archaeology of Knowledge* (London: Tavistock 1972), trans. by A.M. Sheridan Smith, [first published in French in 1969]

Franklin, Sarah, Celia Lury, and Jackie Stacey, *Global Nature, Global Culture* (London: SAGE, 2000)

Friedberg, Anne, *The Virtual Window: From Alberti to Microsoft* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2006)

———, *Window Shopping: Cinema and the Postmodern* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 1993)

Gaillard, Francoise, 'Diana, Postmodern Madonna', *After Diana: Irreverent Elegies* ed. by Mandy Merck (London: Verso, 1998), pp. 159-167

Geraghty, Christine, *British Cinema in the Fifties: Gender, Genre and the 'New Look'* (London; New York: Routledge, 2000)

———, 'Women and Sixties British Cinema: The Development of the "Darling" Girl', in *The British Cinema Book* third edn. ed. by Robert Murphy (BFI, 2009) [first published in 1997], pp. 313- 20

Ghosh, Peter, ‘Mediate and Immediate Mourning’ [first published in 1997], in *After Diana: Irreverent Elegies* ed. by Mandy Merck (London: Verso, 1998), pp. 41-47

Gilbert, David, ‘From Paris to Shanghai: The Changing Geographies of Fashion's World Cities’, in *Fashion's World Cities*, ed. by Christopher Breward and David Gilbert (Oxford; New York: Berg, 2006), pp. 3-32

———, ‘A New World Order? Fashion and its Capitals in the Twenty-First Century’, in *Fashion Cultures Revisited*, ed. by Stella Bruzzi and Pamela Church Gibson (London; New York: Routledge, 2013) [first published as *Fashion Cultures: Theories, Explorations and Analysis* in 2000], pp. 11-30

———, ‘Urban Outfitting: The City and the Spaces of Fashion Culture’, in *Fashion Cultures: Theories, Explorations, and Analysis*, ed. by Stella Bruzzi and Pamela Church Gibson (London: Routledge, 2000), pp. 7-24

Grahame, Kenneth, *The Wind in the Willows* (London: Methuen & Co, 1908)

Green, Jonathon, *All Dressed Up: The Sixties and the Counterculture* (London: Pimlico, 1999) [first published in 1998]

Gunning, Tom, ‘The Cinema of Attractions: Early Film, Its Spectator and the Avant-Garde’, *Wide Angle*, 3/4, 8, (1986), 63-70

Habermas, Jürgen, *Time of Transitions* (Cambridge; Malden, MA: Polity Press, 2006), ed. and trans. by Ciaran Cronin and Max Pensky, [first published in German in 2001]

Hammerton, Jenny, ‘Everything That Constitutes Life: Pathe Cinemagazines 1918-1969’, in *Yesterday's News: The British Cinema Newsreel Reader*, ed. by British Universities Film and Video Council (BUFVC) (London: BUFVC, 2002), pp. 268-80

———, *For Ladies Only? Eve's Film Review: Pathe Cinemagazine 1921-33* (Hastings: Projection Box, 2001)

———, 'Sixty Years of Fashion', in *The COI Collection Volume Two: Design for Today*, DVD booklet (London: BFI, 2010), p. 14

Hasse, Donald, *Fairy Tales and Feminism: New Approaches* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 2004)

Harper, Sue, *Picturing the Past: the Rise and Fall of the British Costume Film* (London: BFI Publishing, 1994)

———, *Women in British Cinema: Mad, Bad and Dangerous to Know* (London; New York: Continuum, 2000)

Haye, Amy De La, and Valerie D. Mendes, *Fashion Since 1900*, new edn. (London: Thames & Hudson, 2010) [first published as *20th Century Fashion* in 1999]

Heald, Claire, and Jane Mower, 'Team GB 2012 Olympic Kit Revealed', in *BBC News UK* (22.03.2012) <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-17457729> [accessed: 13.03.2013]

Heath, Allister, 'Seven Years On, We Are Still Living in the Shadow of the Great Recession', *The Telegraph* (2015) <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/finance/economics/11364137/Seven-years-on-we-are- all-still-living-in-the-shadow-of-the-Great-Recession.html> [accessed: 23.02.2015]

Hebdige, Dick, *Subculture: the Meaning of Style* (London; New York: Routledge, 1979)

Herring, Robert, 'The News-Reel' in *Yesterday's News*, *The British Cinema Newsreel Reader*, ed. by British Universities Film and Video Council (London:

BUFVC, 2002) [first published in *Life and Letters To-day*, 10, 17, (1937)], pp. 108-115

Hewison, Robert, *The Heritage Industry: Britain in a Climate of Decline* (London: Methuen, 1987)

Higson, Andrew, *English Heritage, English Cinema: Costume Drama Since 1980* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003)

Hill, John, *British Cinema in the 1980s: Issues and Themes* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999)

Hobsbawm, Eric, 'Introduction: Inventing Traditions', in *The Invention of Tradition*, ed. by Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012) [first published 1983]

Hudson, Hugh, 'Design for Today', in *The COI Collection Volume Two: Design for Today DVD booklet,* ed. by BFI (London: BFI, 2010), pp. 8- 9

Hulanicki, Barbara, 'Biba', in *British Design from 1948: Innovation in the Modern Age*, ed. by Christopher Breward and Ghislaine Wood (London: V&A Publishing, 2012), pp. 220-23

Humfrey, Robert, 'The News-Reel Cameraman', in *Yesterday's News: The British Cinema Newsreel Reader*, ed. by British Universities Film and Video Council (BUFVC) (London: BUFVC, 2002) [first published in Robert Humfrey, *Careers in Films*, (London: Sir Isaac Pitman & Sons, 1938)] pp. 116-20

Hutcheon, Linda, *The Politics of Postmodernism* (London: Routledge, 1989)

Irving, Andrew, 'Chance, Contingency and Face-to-Face Encounter', in *Whose Cosmopolitanism? Critical Perspectives, Relationalities and Discontents*, ed. by

Andrew Irving and Nina Glick Schiller (New York; Oxford: Berhahn Books, 2015), pp. 65-73

Irving, Andrew, and Nina Glick Schiller, 'Introduction: What's in a Word? What's in a Question?', in *Whose Cosmopolitanism? Critical Perspectives, Relationalities and Discontents*, ed. by Nina Glick Schiller and Andrew Irving (New York; Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2015), pp. 1-21

Jameson, Fredric, 'Postmodernism and Consumer Society', in *Postmodern Culture*, ed. by Hal Foster (London; Sydney: Pluto Press, 1985), pp. 111-25

Joosen, Vanessa, *Critical and Creative Perspectives on Fairy Tales: An Intertextual Dialogue Between Fairy-Tale Scholarship and Postmodern Retellings* (Michigan: Wayne State University Press, 2011)

Kant, Immanuel, *Perpetual Peace* (London: Filiquarian Publishing, 2007) [first published in 1795]

Kaiser, Susan B. *Fashion and Cultural Studies* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2012)

Kaye, Linda, 'Reconciling Policy and Propaganda: The British Overseas Television Service 1954-1964' [first published in 2007], in *Projecting Britain: The Guide to British Cinemagazines*, ed. by Emily Crosby and Linda Kaye (London: BUFVC, 2008), pp. 69-96

Kynaston, David, *Austerity Britain 1945-51* (London: Bloomsbury, 2007)

Lant, Antonia, *Blackout: Reinventing Women for Wartime British Cinema*, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991)

Larose, Lauren, 'Kate Sporting Canadian Designers to Kick Off Royal Tour', *The Globe and Mail* (2011) <http://www.theglobeandmail.com/life/kate-

sporting- canadian-designers-to-kick-off-royal-tour/article585116/> [accessed: 24.11.2014]

Leaper, Caroline, 'The Duchess Directory: The Ultimate Guide To Kate Middleton's Favourite Fashion Brands', *Marie Claire* (2014) <http://www.marieclaire.co.uk/blogs/546950/kate-middleton-fashion-brands-the-duchess-of-cambridge-s-top.html> [accessed: 24.11.2014]

Lieberman, Marcia K. '"Some Day My Prince Will Come": Female Acculturation Through the Fairy Tale', accessed in Jack Zipes *Don't Bet on the Prince: Contemporary Feminist Fairy Tales in North America and England*, (New York; London: Routledge, 2012), [first published in *College English* 34 (1972)], pp. 187-200

Lin, Weiqiang, and Brenda S.A.Yeoh, 'Cosmopolitanism in Cities and Beyond', in *Routledge Handbook of Cosmopolitanism Studies*, ed. by Gerard Delanty (New York: Routledge, 2012), pp. 208-19

Livingstone, Sonia, *Making Sense of Television: The Psychology of Audience Interpretation* (London: Routledge, 1990)

Manovich, Lev, *The Language of New Media* (Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press, 2001)

Marr, Andrew, *The Diamond Queen: Elizabeth II and Her People* (London: Macmillan, 2011)

Massey, Doreen, *World City* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2007)

McCabe, Janet, *Feminist Film Studies: Writing the Woman into Cinema* (London; New York: Wallflower, 2004)

McDermott, Catherine, *Made in Britain* (London: Mitchell Beazley, 2002)

McDonald, Tamar Jeffers, *Hollywood Catwalk: Exploring Costume and Transformation in American Film* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2010)

McDowell, Colin, *A Hundred Years of Royal Style* (London: Muller, Blond & White, 1985)

McGuigan, Jim, *Culture and the Public Sphere* (London and New York: Routledge, 1996)

McKernan, Luke, 'Introduction', in *Yesterday's News, The British Cinema Newsreel Reader*, ed. by British Universities Film and Video Council (London: BUFVC, 2002), pp. viii-x

McLoughlin, Marie, 'Fashion, Royalty, and British Identity: Fashion Exhibitions in London in the Year of the "Jubilympics"', *Fashion Theory: The Journal of Dress, Body & Culture*, 17 (2013), 467-82

Monk, Claire, *Heritage Film Audiences: Period Films and Contemporary Audiences in the UK*, (Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press, 2011)

Morley, David, *The Nationwide Audience: Structure and Decoding* (London: BFI, 1980)

Moseley, Rachel, *Fashioning Film Stars: Dress, Culture, Identity* (London: BFI Publishing, 2005)

———, 'Makeover Takeover on British Television', *Screen*, 41 (2000), 299-314

Neel, Julia, 'British Clothing Industry Reception', *Vogue* (17.03.2010) <www.vogue.co.uk/spy/celebrity-photos/2010/03/17/clothing-industry-reception-at-buckingham-palace> [accessed: 24.11.2014]

Norman, Jill, 'Foreward', in *Make Do and Mend*, ed. by Jill Norman (London: Michael O'Mara Books, 2007), pp. 5-12

Norman, Philip, 'The Newsreel Boys', in *Yesterday's News*, ed. by British Universities Film and Video Council (BUFVC) (London: BUFVC, 2002) pp. [first published in the *Sunday Times Magazine*, 10 January 1971], 1-11

Newsreel Association of Great Britain, 'September 4th, 1947, 11.30am' *BFI Special Collections*, *Minutes of the Newsreel Association of Great Britain*, Box 3 (1944-1948)

———, '6th November, 1947, 11.15am', *BFI Special Collections, Minutes of the Newsreel Association of Great Britain*, Box 3 (1944-1948)

———, 'Thurs April 21st, 11.15 am', *BFI Special Collections, Minutes of the Newsreel Association of Great Britain 1941-1943*, Box 4 (1949)

Observation, Mass, 'About Mass Observation: A Brief History', in *Mass Observation: Recording Everyday Life in Britain* <http://www.massobs.org.uk/a_brief_history.htm> [accessed 19.01.2015]

Palaces, Historical Royal, 'Fashion Rules: Royal Glamour at Kensington Palace' <www.hrp.org.uk/KensingtonPalace/stories/palacehighlights/FashionRules/default.a spx> [accessed 20.11.2013]

Pathé, British, 'About Us' <http://www.britishpathe.com/pages/about> [accessed 07.08.2014]

———, 'British Pathé' <http://www.britishpathe.com> [accessed 07.08.2014]

———, 'History of British Pathé' <http://www.britishpathe.com/pages/history> [accessed 29.06.2015]

Pensky, Max, 'Cosmopolitan Memory', in *Routledge Handbook of Cosmopolitanism Studies*, ed. by Gerard Delanty (New York: Routledge, 2012), pp. 254-66

Phelan, Peggy, *Unmarked: The Politics of Performance* (London and New York:

Routledge, 1993)

Pidduck, Julianne, *Contemporary Costume Film* (London: BFI, 2004)

———, 'The Body as Gendered Discourse in British and French Costume and Heritage Fictions', *Cinémas: Revue D'Etudes Cinématographiques/ Cinémas: Journal of Film Studies*, 2-3, 22, (2012), 101-125

Polhemus, Ted, *Fashion & Anti-Fashion: Exploring Adornment and Dress from an Anthropological Perspective* (Open Source, 2011) [first published as the introductory text of Ted Polhemus & Lynn Procter, *Fashion & Anti-fashion: An Anthropology of Clothing and Adornment* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1978)]

Pontecorvo, Lisa, 'What is Newsreel?', in *Researcher's Guide to British Newsreels*, ed. by British Universities Film and Video Council (London: The Pitman Press, 1983), pp. 6-7

Powell, Liz, 'Refashioning the Post-Mastectomy Body in How To Look Good Naked', *Film, Fashion and Consumption*, 2 (2013), 43-54

Prakash, Gyan, 'Whose Cosmopolitanism? Multiple, Globally Enmeshed and Subaltern', in *Whose Cosmopolitanism? Critical Perspectives, Relationalities and Discontents*, ed. by Andrew Irving and Nina Glick Schiller (New York; Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2015), pp. 27-28

Pronay, Nicholas, 'British Newsreels in the 1930s: Audience and Producers', in *Yesterday's News, The British Cinema Newsreel Reader*, ed. by British Universities Film and Video Council (BUFVC) (London: BUFVC, 2002) [first published in *History*, 188, 56, (1971)], pp. 128-147

———,'British Newsreels in the 1930s: Their Policies and Impact', in

Yesterday's News The British Cinema Newsreel Reader, ed. by British Universities Film and Video Council (BUFVC) (London: BUFVC, 2002) [first published in *History*, 189, 57, (1972)], p. 148

Rice, Philip, and Patricia Waugh, 'Section 4 Postmodernism Introduction', in *Modern Literary Theory*, ed. by Philip Rice and Patricia Waugh (New York: Hodder Arnold, 2001) [first published in 1989], pp. 325-28

Rocamora, Agnès, 'How New Are New Media? The Case of Fashion Blogs', in *Fashion Media: Past and Present*, ed. by Djurdja Bartlett, Agnès Rocamora, and Shaun Cole (London; New Delhi; New York; Sydney: Bloomsbury, 2013), pp. 155-64

Rose, Jacqueline, 'Wounded Cosmopolitanism', in *Whose Cosmopolitanism: Critical Perspectives, Relationalities and Discontents*, ed. by Andrew Irving and Nina Glick Schiller (New York; Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2015), pp. 41-48

Rovisco, Maria, 'Towards a Cosmopolitan Cinema: Understanding the Connection Between Borders, Mobility and Cosmopolitanism in the Fiction Film', *Mobilities*, 8 (2013), 148-65

Rowe, Karen E. 'Feminism and Fairy Tales' in Jack Zipes, *Don't Bet on The Prince: Contemporary Feminist Fairy Tales in North America and England* (New York; London: Routledge, 2012) [first published in *Women's Studies*, 6 (1979)], pp. 209-226

Said, Edward W., *Orientalism* (London: Penguin, 1978)

Samuel, Raphael, *Theatres of Memory: Past and Present in Contemporary Culture*, third edn. (London; New York: Verso, 2012) [first published in 1996]

Sanger, Gerald, 'We Lived in the Presence of History: The Story of British Movietone News in the War Years', in *Yesterday's News, The British Cinema NewsreelReader*, ed. by British Universities Film and Video Council (BUFVC) (London: BUFVC, 2002) [first written as an unpublished manuscript for a talk delivered c. 1946] pp. 163-70

Sassatelli, Monica, 'Festivals, Museums, Exhibitions: Aesthetic Cosmopolitanism in the Cultural Public Sphere', in *Routledge Handbook of Cosmopolitanism Studies*, ed. by Gerard Delanty (New York: Routledge, 2012), pp. 233-44

Service, National Health, 'The History of the NHS in England', <http://www.nhs.uk/NHSEngland/thenhs/nhshistory/Pages/NHShistory1948.aspx> [accessed 28.11.2014]

Schiller, Nina Glick, 'Diasporic Cosmopolitanism: Migrants, Sociabilities and City Making', in *Whose Cosmopolitanism? Critical Perspectives, Relationalities and Discontents*, ed. by Andrew Irving and Nina Glick Schiller (New York; Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2015), pp. 103-20

———, 'Whose Cosmopolitanism? And Whose Humanity?', in *Whose Cosmopolitanism? Critical Perspectives, Relationalities and Discontents*, ed. by Andrew Irving and Nina Glick Schiller (New York; Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2015), pp. 31-33

SHOWstudio http://showstudio.com

Sinfield, Alan, *Literature, Politics, and Culture in Postwar Britain* (California: University of California Press, 1989)

Skov, Lise, 'Dreams of a Small Nation in a Polycentric Fashion World', *Fashion Theory: The Journal of Dress, Body & Culture*, 15 (2011), 137-156

Smith, Kevin Paul, *The Postmodern Fairytale: Folkloric Intertexts in Contemporary Fiction* (Hampshire: Palgrave MacMillan, 2007)

Spigel, Lynn, *Welcome to the Dreamhouse: Popular Media and Postwar Suburbs* (London; Durham: Duke University Press, 2001)

———, 'Installing the Television Set: Popular Discourses on Television and Domestic Space, 1948-1955' in *Private Screenings: Television and the Female Consumer*, ed. by Lynn Spigel and Denise Mann, (Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press, 1992), pp. 3- 40

Spigel, Lynn, and Michale Curtin, 'Introduction', in *The Revolution Wasn't Televised: Sixties Television and Social Conflict* (New York; London: Routledge, 1997), pp. 1-20

Stacey, Jackie, 'The Global Within: Consuming Nature, Embodying Health', in *Global Nature, Global Culture*, ed. by Sarah Franklin, Celia Lury, and Jackie Stacey (London: SAGE, 2000), pp. 97-145

———, *Star Gazing: Hollywood Cinema and Female Spectatorship* (London; New York: Routledge, 1994)

———, 'The Uneasy Cosmopolitans of Code Unknown', in *Whose Cosmopolitanism? Critical Perspectives, Relationalities and Discontents*, ed. by Andrew Irving and Nina Glick Schiller (New York; Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2015), pp. 160-74

———, 'Whose Cosmopolitanism? The Violence of Idealizations and the Ambivalence of Self', in *Whose Cosmopolitanism? Critical Perspectives, Relationalities and Discontents*, ed. by Andrew Irving and Nina Glick Schiller (New York; Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2015), pp. 34-36

Steedman, Carolyn, *Dust* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001)

Stephenson, Jo, 'Britain's Brand Story in the Fashion Films of the Central Office of Information (COI)', *Catwalk: the Journal of Fashion, Beauty and Style* 2, 2 (2013), 63- 84

———, '"Miniskirts Make Money": Post-War British Fashion Promotion in Films by the COI', in *Trending Now: New Developments in Fashion Studies* (Oxford: Inter- Disciplinary Press, 2013), pp. 167-80. eBook

———, 'The Regal Catwalk - Royal Weddings and the Media Promotion of British Fashion', in *The British Monarchy on Screen*, ed. by Mandy Merck (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2016), pp. 243-263

Still, Judith, *Derrida and Hospitality: Theory and Practice* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2010)

Street, Sarah, *British National Cinema*, second edn. (London: Routledge, 2009) [first published in 1997]

———, *Costume and Cinema: Dress Codes in Popular Film* (London: Wallflower, 2001)

Stylist, 'Why We All Want to Believe in Kate', *Stylist* 18 April 2012, pp. 42-46

Szymanski, Adam, 'Bill Cunningham New York and the Political Potentiality of the Fashion Documentary', *Film, Fashion and Consumption*, 1 (2012), 289-304

Tatar, Maria, 'Introduction', in *The Classic Fairy Tales*, ed. by Maria Tatar (New York; London: W. W. Norton & Company, 1999), pp. ix-xviii

Thomas, Natascha Radclyffe, 'Weaving Fashion Stories in Shanghai: Heritage, Retro and Vintage Fashion in Modern Shanghai', in *Fashion in Fiction: Style Stories and Transglobal Narratives* conference (City University Hong Kong: 2014)

Tierney, Dolores, 'Ugly Betty's Latina Body: Race, Ethnicity, Class and Gender in Contemporary US Television', *Film, Fashion and Consumption*, 1, 2 (2013), 7-23

Tillman, Harold, 'Chairman's Letter', in *British Fashion Council Annual Report 2011-2012* (2012) http://www.britishfashioncouncil.co.uk/uploads/media/290/31007.pdf [accessed:29.11.2013]

Troy, Nancy J. *Couture Culture: A Study in Modern Art and Fashion* (Cambridge MA; London: MIT Press, 2003)

Tseelon, Professor Efrat, '"The Emperor's New Clothes" Revisited: on Fashion Narratives, Illusion and Masquerade', in *Fashion in Fiction: Style Stories and Transglobal Narratives* conference (City University Hong Kong: 2014)

Uhlirova, Marketa, 'The Fashion Film Effect', in *Fashion Media: Past and Present*, ed. by Djurda Bartlett, Shaun Cole, and Agnès Rocamora (London; New York: Bloomsbury, 2013), pp. 118-29

———, '100 Years of the Fashion Film: Frameworks and Histories', *Fashion Theory* 2, 17 (2013), 137-158

V&A, 'British Design 1948-2012: Innovation in the Modern Age' (2011) <http://www.vam.ac.uk/content/exhibitions/exhibition-british-design/> [accessed: 29.03.12]

Vick, Becky, 'The Pacemakers: Biba', in *The COI Collection Volume Two: Design for Today*, DVD booklet (London: BFI, 2010), pp. 15-16

Vidal, Belen, *Heritage Film: Nation, Genre and Representation* (London and New York: Wallflower (Short Cuts), 2012)

Walford, Jonathan, *Forties Fashion: From Siren Suits to the New Look* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2008)

Warner, Helen, 'Editorial: Fashion, Television and Beyond', *Film, Fashion and Consumption*, 2 (2013), 3-6

———, 'Tracing Patterns: Critical Approaches to Onscreen Fashion', *Film, Fashion and Consumption*, 1 (2012), 121-32

Warner, Marina, *From the Beast to the Blonde: On Fairy Tales and Their Tellers* (London: Vintage, 1995)

———, 'The Old Wives' Tale', [first published in 1994] in *The Classic Fairy Tales* (New York; London: W.W. Norton & Company, 1999), pp. 309-17

Williams, Raymond, *Television: Technology and Cultural Form*, ed. by Ederyn Williams, (London: Routledge, 1990) [first published in 1975]

Wright, Patrick, *On Living In An Old Country* (Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2009) [first published in 1985]

Zipes, Jack, 'Breaking the Disney Spell' [first published in 1995] in *The Classic Fairy Tales*, ed. by MariaTatar (New York; London: W. W. Norton & Company, 1999), pp. 332- 52

———, *Fairy Tales and the Art of Subversion* (London; New York: Routledge, 2007) [first published in 1983]

———, *Why Fairy Tales Stick: the Evolution and Relevance of a Genre* (New York: Routledge, 2006)

Zweiniger-Bargielowska, Ina, *Austerity in Britain: Rationing, Controls, and Consumption 1939-1945* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000)

Filmography

Aladdin, dir. by Ron Clements and John Musker (Walt Disney, 1992), on DVD

BBC Olympic Countdown (BBC 1, 27.07.2012)

Beyond Biba: A Portrait of Barbara Hulanicki, dir. by Louis Price (BFI and November Films, 2009), on DVD

Bill Cunningham New York, dir. by Richard Press (First Thought Films, 2010), on DVD

Boots and Shoes (British Pathé, for British Instructional Films Ltd, 1946), on britishpathe.com

Brief City dir. by Maurice Harvey and Jacques Brunius (The Central Office of Information, 1952) On *The COI Collection Volume Two* DVD

British Royal Children of the 20th Century (British Pathé; Cherry Red Films and Strike Force Entertainment, 2013), on DVD

British Royal Weddings of the 20th Century (British Pathé; Cherry Red Films and Strike Force Entertainment, 2011), on DVD

Chitty Chitty Bang Bang, dir. by Ken Hughes (United Artists, 1968), on DVD

Cinderella, dir. by Clyde Geronimi, Wilfred Jackson, and Hamilton Luske (Walt Disney, 1950), on DVD

City of the Future (The) (British Pathé, 1935), on britishpathe.com

COI Collection Volume One (The): Police and Thieves (BFI, 2010), on DVD

COI Collection Volume Two (The): Design for Today (BFI, 2010), on DVD

COI Collection Volume Three (The): They Stand Ready (BFI, 2010), on DVD

COI Collection Volume Four (The): Stop! Look! Listen! (BFI, 2010), on DVD

COI Collection Volume Five (The): A Portrait of a People (BFI, 2010), on DVD

COI Collection Volume Six (The): Worth the Risk? (BFI, 2010), on DVD

COI Collection Volume Seven (The): The Queen on Tour (BFI, 2010), on DVD

COI Collection Volume Eight (The): Your Children and You, (BFI, 2010) on DVD

Coronation of Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth (The), (British Pathé, 1953) on *Happy And Glorious: The Royal Wedding (1947) and the Coronation (1953) from Original Newsreels*, DVD

Coronation of Queen Elizabeth II (The) (BBC 4, 2013)

Daybreak (ITV 1, 09.03.2012)

Design for Today, dir. by Hugh Hudson (COI, 1965), on *The COI Collection Volume Two* DVD

Designed in Britain, dir. by J B Napier-Bell (COI, 1959), on *The COI Collection Volume Two* DVD

Designing Women, dir. By Roger MacDougal (Central Office of Information, 1948), on *The COI Collection Volume Two* DVD

Desperately Seeking Susan, dir. by Susan Seidelman (Orion Pictures, 1985), on DVD

Devil Wears Prada (The), dir. by David Frankel (Twentieth Century Fox, 2006), on DVD

Diamond Jubilee Debate, House of Commons (BBC Parliement, 07.03.2012)

Die Another Day, dir. by Lee Tamahori (Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer, 2002), on DVD

Downton Abbey, dir. by Julian Fellowes (ITV 1, 2010 - 2015)

Elizabeth is Queen (British Pathé, 1953), on *Queen Elizabeth in the 1950s* DVD

Eve at the Exhibition (British Pathé, 1931), on britishpathe.com

Fabulous Fashions of the 1940s: The British Pathé Cinemagazine (Cherry Red Films and Strike Force Entertainment, 2010), on DVD

Factory Fashions (British Pathé, 1946), on britishpathe.com

Fame in Fabric (British Pathé, 1945), on britishpathe.com

Fashion Fantasy (Unknown, 1946), on YouTube <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IYzF3Kwm57k>

Fashion Hints - Patchwork & Hats (British Pathé, 1942), on *Fabulous Fashions of the 1940s* DVD

Fashions in Wool (British Pathé, 1945), on *Fabulous Fashions of the 1940s* DVD

Fashions Stress Leap Year Action (British Pathé, 1948), on *Fabulous Fashions of the 1940s* DVD

Four Weddings and a Funeral, dir. by Mike Newell (PolyGram Filmed Entertainment, Channel Four Films and Working Title Films, 1994), on DVD

Frock and Roll Years (The) (ITV, 2002)

Funny Face, dir. by Stanley Donen (Paramount Pictures, 1957), on DVD

From Eve to Everywoman! A Cavalcade of Fashion (British Pathé, 1936), on britishpathe.com

Glamour Gets a Passport (Rank, 1963), on *Look at Life: Swinging London* DVD

Great British Sewing Bee (The), ed. by Susanna Rock (BBC, 2012 -)

Happy & Glorious (BBC 1, 27.07.2012)

Happy And Glorious: The Royal Wedding (1947) and the Coronation (1953) from Original Newsreels (The Royal Collection, 2007), on DVD

Harry Potter (Warner Brothers, 2001-2011), on DVD

Hats with a Tilt (British Pathé, 1932), on britishpathe.com

Hook, dir. by Steven Spielberg (TriStar Pictures, 1991), on DVD

How To Look Good Naked (Channel 4, 2006-2010)

If Summer Comes (British Pathé, 1922), on britishpathe.com

I Live in Grosvenor Square dir. by Herbert Wilcox (Herbert Wilcox Productions, 1945)

Inexpensive Dress (British Pathé, 1945), on *Fabulous Fashions of the 1940s* DVD

Insight: Zandra Rhodes, dir. by Peter Greenaway (Central Office of Information, 1981), on *The COI Collection Volume Two* DVD

Introducing the Vingle (British Pathé, 1942), on *Fabulous Fashions of the 1940s* DVD

Is This the Job for Me? No. 5: Making Boots and Shoes (Central Office of Information, 1951), available through the BFI Research Viewing Service

Lady Hamilton, dir. by Alexander Korda (Alexander Korda Films, 1941)

Life and Death of Colonel Blimp (The), dir. by Michael Powell and Emeric Pressburger (Rank, 1943).

Look at Life: Swinging' London (Rank, 2010), on DVD

London - New York (British Pathé, 1945), on britishpathe.com

London 2012 Olympic Games (BBC, 2012), on DVD

London Olympic Games Closing Ceremony 2012, dir. by Kim Gavin (BBC, 2012), on *London 2012 Olympic Games* DVD

London Olympic Games Opening Ceremony 2012, dir. by Danny Boyle (BBC, 2012), on *London 2012 Olympic Games* DVD

Looking at Britain: Industrial Town, dir. by Norman Hemsley (Central Office of Information, 1962), on *The COI Collection Volume Five* DVD

Lord Louis Mountbatten weds Miss Edwina Ashley (British Pathé, 1922), on *British Royal Weddings of the 20th Century* DVD

Made in Chelsea (E4, 2011 -)

Mary Poppins, dir. by Robert Stevenson (Walt Disney, 1964), on DVD

Mary's Bottom Line (Channel 4, 2012)

May Wedding (British Pathé, 1960), on *British Royal Weddings of the 20th Century* DVD

Mayfair Merry-go-round (1954), viewed at the BFI *Brit Chic* screening event (2009)

Maytime in Mayfair, dir. by Herbert Wilcox (Herbert Wilcox Productions, 1949)

Miniskirts Make Money (Central Office of Information, 1968), on *The COI Collection Volume Two* DVD

My Fair Lady, dir. by George Cukor (Warner Bros., 1964), on DVD

New Hair-Do (British Pathé, 1942), on *Fabulous Fashions of the 1940s* DVD

Next of Kin (The), dir by Thorold Dickinson (Ealing, 1942)

Notebook on Cities and Clothes, dir. by Wim Wenders (Centre Pompidou, 1989)

'One Amazing Summer on BBC One' (BBC One Trailers: BBC, 2012)

Painted Lovelies (British Pathé, 1946), on britishpathe.com

Pacemakers (The): Basil Spence (Central Office of Information, 1973), on *The COI Collection Volume Two* DVD

Pacemakers (The): Biba, dir. by John Hall (Central Office of Information, 1970), on *The COI Collection Volume Two* DVD

Peter Pan, dir. by Clyde Geronimi, Wilfred Jackson, and Hamilton Luske (Walt Disney, 1953), on DVD

Pretty Woman, dir. by Garry Marshall (Tourchstone Pictures, 1990)

Prince Henry, Duke of Gloucestershire weds Lady Alice Scott (British Pathé, 1935), on *British Royal Weddings of the 20th Century* DVD

Princess Mary to Marry an English Nobleman (British Pathé, 1921), on *British Royal Weddings of the 20th Century* DVD

Princess Weds (The) (British Pathé, 1947), on *British Royal Weddings of the 20th Century* DVD

Princess's Wedding Day (The) (British Pathé, 1947), on *Happy And Glorious: The Royal Wedding (1947) and the Coronation (1953) from Original Newsreels*, DVD

Private Smith Goes Glamorous (British Pathé, 1945), on britishpathe.com

Queen (The), dir. by Stephen Frears (Pathé Pictures International and Granada Film Productions, 2006)

Queen Elizabeth in the 1950s (British Pathé; Cherry Red Films and Strike Force Entertainment, 2010), on DVD

Royal Romance (The) (British Pathé, 1947), on *British Royal Weddings of the 20th Century* DVD

Royal Wedding (The) - William and Catherine (BBC, 2011), on DVD

Royal Wedding (The) (ITV, 2011), Live Coverage

Royal Wedding William and Catherine (The) (Formative Productions, 2011), on DVD

Royal Wedding (The): HRH Prince William & Catherine Middleton 29th April 2011 (BBC, 2011), Live Coverage

Royal Wedding (The) (British Pathé, 1934), on *British Royal Weddings of the 20th Century* DVD

Royal Wedding (The) (British Pathé, 1935), on *British Royal Weddings of the 20th Century* DVD

Sabrina, dir. by Humphrey Bogart (Paramount Pictures, 1954), on DVD

S.O.S (British Pathé, 1942), on *Fabulous Fashions of the 1940s* DVD

Savile Row Goes on Tour (British Pathé, 1948), on britishpathe.com

Savile Row (British Pathé, 1946), on britishpathe.com

Sensible Clothes Buying (British Pathé, 1942), on *Fabulous Fashions of the 1940s* DVD

Service into Civvies (British Pathé, 1945), on *Fabulous Fashions of the 1940s* DVD

Seven Ages (British Pathé, 1932), on britishpathe.com

Sex and the City, dir. by Michael Patrick King (New Line Cinema, 2008)

Shop Windows for Export (Central Office of Information, 1967), documented in the *BFI Special Collections*, *Central Office of Information,* COI/72

Shrek, dir. by Andrew Adamson and Vicky Jenson (DreamWorks, 2001), on DVD

Sixty Years of Fashion, dir. by Sam Napier-Bell (The Central Office of Information, 1960), *The COI Collection Volume Two* DVD

Skyfall, dir. by Sam Mendes (Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer, 2012), on DVD

Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs, dir. by William Cottrell, David Hand, Wilfred Jackson, Larry Morey, Perce Pearce and Ben Sharpsteen (Walt Disney, 1937), on DVD

Something Borrowed (British Pathé, 1945), on *Fabulous Fashions of the 1940s* DVD

Stars Take to Chinchilla for Winter (British Pathé, 1949), on *Fabulous Fashions ofthe 1940s* DVD

Super-Beach Costume, (The) (British Pathé, 1925), on britishpathe.com

Take Your Fancy (British Pathé, 1931), on britishpathe.com

This Week in Britain 750: Men's Fashions, dir. by John Lyndon (The Central Office of Information, 1973), on *The COI Collection Volume Two* DVD

This Week in Britain 791: The Mary Quant Show (Central Office of Information, 1974), on *The COI Collection Volume Two* DVD

Twenty Twelve, dir. by John Morton (BBC Two: BBC, 2011-2012)

Very Jean Muir (Channel 4, 1993), available on the BFI Mediateque

Weaving the Queen's Coronation Robe (British Pathé, 1952), on britishpathe.com

Wedding Dress Silk Made in Essex (British Pathé, 1947), on *Happy And Glorious: The Royal Wedding (1947) and the Coronation (1953) from Original Newsreels*, DVD

Wedding of Prince Charles and Lady Diana Spencer 29 July 1981 St Paul's Cathedral (The) (British Pathé, 1981), on *British Royal Weddings of the 20th Century* DVD

Wedding of HRH Princess Mary and Viscount Lascelles, D.S.O at Westminster Abbey(British Pathé, 1922), on *British Royal Weddings of the 20th Century* DVD

Wicked Lady (The), dir. by Leslie Arliss (Gainsborough, 1945), on DVD

William and Kate, a Royal Engagement (BBC, 2011)

World is Not Enough (The), dir. by Michael Apted (MGM, 1999), on DVD

101 Dalmations, dir. by Clyde Geronimi, Hamilton Luske, and Wolfgang Reitherman (Walt Disney, 1961), on DVD

24 Horas (24 Hours): Men's Fashions (Central Office of Information, 1973), on *The COI Collection Volume Two* DVD

Discography

‘All Together Now’, written by Paul McCartney, performed by The Beatles, from *Yellow Submarine* (EMI, 1968) on CD

‘Danny Boy’, words written by Frederic Weatherly (1910)

‘Fashion’, written and performed by David Bowie, from *Scary Monsters (And Super Creeps)* (RCA, 1980), on CD

‘God Save the Queen’, written and performed by The Sex Pistols, from *Never Mind the Bollocks, Here’s the Sex Pistols* (Wessex Sound Studios, 1977), on CD

‘Guide Me O Thou Great Redeemer’, words by William Williams, music by John Hughes (1907)

‘Jerusalem’, words by William Blake, music by Sir Hubert Parry (1916)